SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A TRIBALLY HETEROGENEOUS EAST AFRICAN CITY WARD

by

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THESIS

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A B S T R A C T

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the prestige ranking of groups and persons in an urban African local community.

On the one hand, this system of stratification is largely based on the normal urban differentiation of migrants into occupational categories.

On the other hand, rural tribal structures alter the precise nature of the system between migrants of different tribes.

Migrants of politically uncentralised, segmentary lineage tribes are distinguished from those of centralised tribes.

Among the former the strong agnatic principle defines relatively highly solidary groups of kin, clan, and fellowtribesmen.

Among centralised tribesmen a more bilateral kinship emphasis renders these groups less solidary and even insignificant.

This difference in group solidarity is reflected in the existence of segmentary structures of formal voluntary associations among migrants of segmentary tribes, and in the absence of such associations among those of centralised tribes.

There are other associations which are multi-tribal in composition and non-tribal in their aims.

The point is taken that most ordinary migrants do not participate in formal voluntary associations.

Yet, all these associations, both tribal and non-tribal, appear to symbolise the local system of stratification. They themselves are variously ranked, and appear to reflect a ranking of the groups

in which the ordinary migrant is involved.

The existence of urban tribal associations among segmentary tribespeople is additionally significant in so far as it indicates the sometimes very strong obligations obtaining within corporate groups of kin and fellowtribesmen.

A segmentary tribesman who aspires to higher urban statuses experiences more frequent and intense conflicts of role-expectation than a centralised tribesman.

Non-tribal associations are common to both these sets of tribespeople. In this and other respects they reflect norms of neighbourhood and local relations.

Networks of neighbourhood and local relations have special significance for a status aspirant of a segmentary tribe. Firstly, they provide him with a cross-cultural yardstick for evaluating his obligations to kin and fellowtribesmen. Secondly, they are the means by which he can indicate his lessening of such obligations as he becomes socially mobile.

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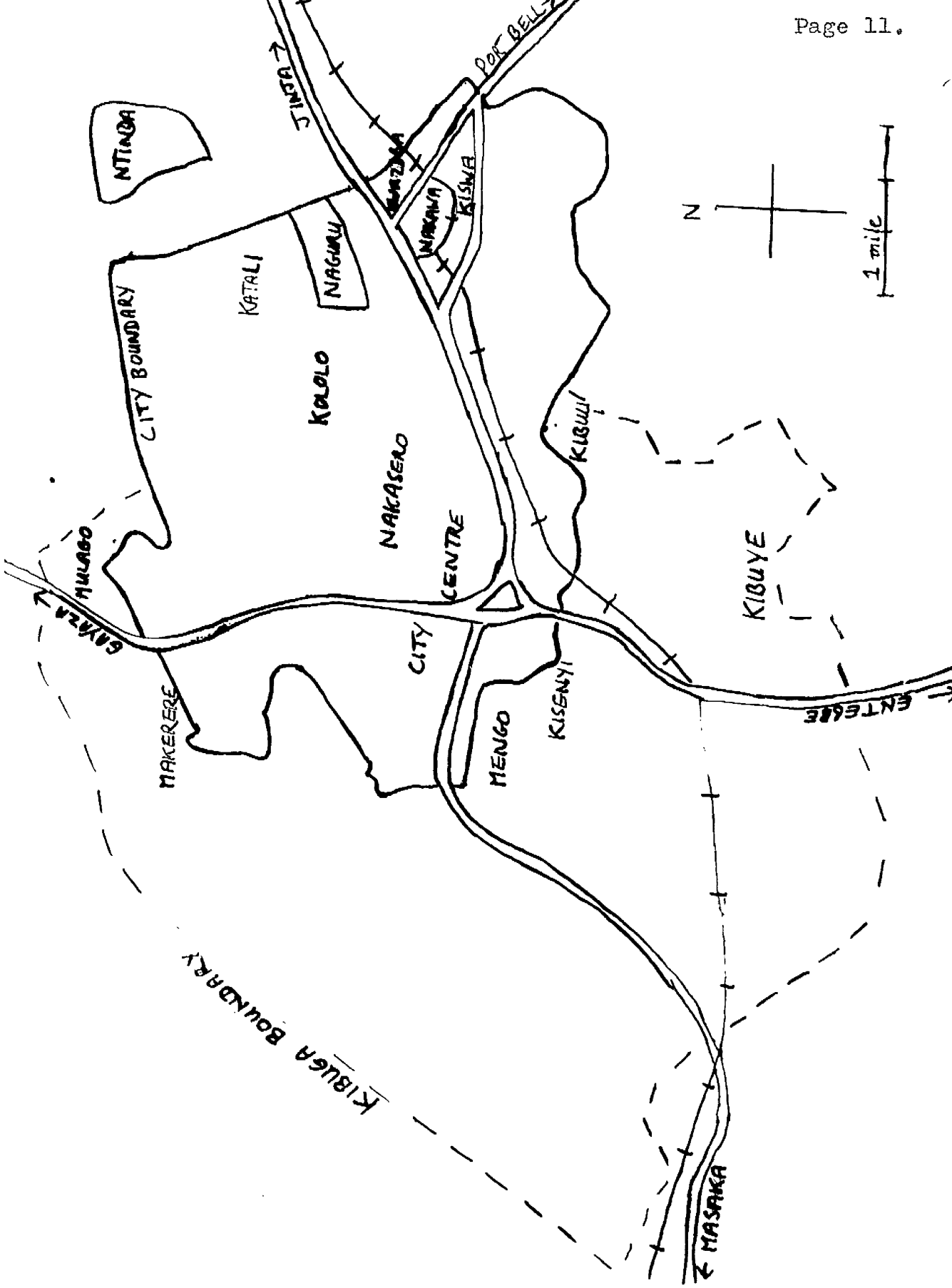
PART ONE



MAP 1
GREATER KAMPALA
ILLUSTRATING THE KIBUGA AND THE CITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

a) Kampala's Origins and Development

The three East African nations of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania share more than a common political past. They share a system of railways and communications, of currency, and, among other things, of internal labour migration. By means of the sometimes extensive migration of people to towns or cash crop estates, persons of very distant tribes may come to know or hear of each other. Many of the East African towns are structurally and historically highly distinct. But a common factor to each, whether in greater or lesser degree, is the immigration into towns of rural-born and -based tribesmen. This, of course, is a prime feature of most towns in developing Africa. The historically recent admixture of different tribespeople in single urban areas poses many problems of sociological enquiry. In simple terms, two questions may be asked: how do tribespeople from rural areas react or adapt to urban life; and how do different tribespeople within a single urban area react or adapt to each other? Kampala, Uganda, is one such town where this admixture has occurred.

Kampala lies just north of the Equator, to the north-west of Lake Victoria, about six miles from the Lake itself. It enjoys an altitude of some 4,000 feet above sea level and a pleasant, equable climate, a dominant feature of which is the sometimes frequent showers of heavy rain. The seasonal variations are slight.

There are no real rainy seasons, and temperatures rarely rise above 85°F. during the day or fall below 60°F. at night. Kampala and its environs are amply provided with green grass and lush vegetation all the year round.

Since Uganda's independence in October, 1962, Kampala has been the nation's official capital. In effect, it has always been Uganda's commercial capital and, through the years, has gradually assumed from Entebbe the position of administrative capital.

At independence, too, Kampala became a city. Though for some months my fieldwork was conducted while Kampala was still a municipality, I shall refer throughout the thesis proper to Kampala as a city.

The city may be regarded as one of the two main areas which together make up Greater Kampala. The other area is what is called the Kibuga, which means capital in the language of the local tribe, Luganda. The Kibuga is in fact a sub-county. In it, the parish of Mengo is the actual administrative capital of the Kingdom of Buganda.

The Kibuga lies to the west and south of the city. Though adjacent, the Kibuga and city are socially and administratively highly distinct. Residents in the Kibuga do not receive the service benefits of residents in the city. The Kingdom of Buganda is one of the four provinces of Uganda and has its own provincial government. Largely due to historical and cultural reasons this government enjoys a relatively high degree of autonomy. It is this government which is responsible for the services and general urban facilities of residents in the Kibuga.

The settlements of the Kibuga constitute part of what is often called the peri-urban fringe of Kampala. These settlements have arisen spontaneously to accommodate a whole range of migrants from professional to unskilled, with a high predominance of the latter. With certain exceptions life in the Kibuga is unsettled. Many people are mobile, tending to move from one rented room to another. Though much of the labour force of the city proper is drawn from the Kibuga, many residents are self-employed and contribute towards the Kibuga's partial economic and social self-sufficiency. Many of the Kibuga's residents are of the local tribe, Ganda, whose customs and institutions have come to be accepted and imitated by certain other tribespeople. As I have stated already, the Kibuga residents do not enjoy the same level of material conditions, public services, and housing as that of city residents.[1]

I shall shortly describe a city ward in more detail, showing how its African population is generally well above the socio-economic average of the Kibuga.

The historical reasons for the social and physical separation of the city and the Kibuga go back to 1890. In that year Captain F.D. (later Lord) Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company established a fort on what is now known as Kampala Hill. Around this fort grew the British administrative headquarters, and a centre of commerce which was mostly run by Asians. In founding his fort, Lugard had firstly made a forced march on the Kibuga in what was

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[1] A.W. Southall and P.C. Gutkind, 1957, "Townsmen in the Making", East African Studies No.9, Kampala, have analysed in detail the relationship of the Kibuga to the then municipality.

claimed to be a response to a plea by Mwanga, Kabaka, or King, of Buganda, for British protection. Kabaka Mwanga's palace was on Mengo hill. In a sense, Kampala and Mengo hills each looked out on each other. Like much of southern Uganda, the area of what is now Greater Kampala consisted of small hills intersected by swamps. The hills of the town have tended to become residential quarters, while much land has been reclaimed from the swamps and now accommodates busy urban communities.

In Lugard's time and for some years afterwards, the general urban agglomeration around both hills was called Mengo. By 1906, with greater administrative and commercial development beside the hill on which the fort stood, Kampala was superseding Mengo as a general term of reference for the whole urban area. At the same time, Mengo continued to hold the Kabaka's palace and came to be regarded by the people of Buganda Kingdom as their capital. Mengo, as an urban nucleus, gradually spread out into the Kibuga. Kampala itself, which progressively evolved as a statutory township and then a municipality, came to be regarded as alien, the foreigners' capital. The foreigners were Europeans and Asians. Africans were uninfluential in the affairs of Kampala municipality, even though they were employed there.

Buganda Kingdom was formally responsible for developing and improving the amenities of its Mengo and general Kibuga urban population. The successive township and municipal authorities of Kampala were responsible for their urban populations. For various

reasons the Buganda government was unable in the Kibuga to match the provision of services by the municipal authorities in Kampala. Stated another way, this meant that, since the residence of Africans of all tribes was regarded as primarily the Kibuga's responsibility while Europeans and Asians were primarily cared for in Kampala, it was Africans who suffered the most obvious deprivation of housing and other conventional urban facilities.

Politically, Europeans and Asians were dominant in Kampala. Ganda were dominant in the Kibuga.

In the years immediately after the Second World War, housing estates to the east of Kampala municipality were built. They were established on Crown land and administered by the Uganda government. In 1956 they were brought into the municipality itself. This extension of the municipal boundary most clearly marks the beginning of what is at present a rapidly increasing political and social integration of Africans into their nation's capital.

The second major historical landmark in this process of integration was the decision in March, 1962, by the Minister of Local Government of the then internally self-governing Uganda Democratic Party that a larger proportion of municipal councillors were in future to be elected by popular vote. Up to this time all town council members had been appointed by the Governor, or by the Minister of Local Government during Uganda's short period of internal self-government. Now there was to be the election of councillors on a political party basis. The Uganda political parties are the Uganda Peoples Congress (U.P.C.), the present ruling party, and the Uganda Democratic Party (D.P.). The Ganda Kabaka Yekka party (K.Y.) coalesced with the

U.P.C. during the 1962 national elections.

For the purpose of its council elections Kampala was divided into three wards, Kampala South, West, and East. The two former are still mostly European and Asian high status residential areas, though an increasing number of high status Africans have taken up residence in them. Kampala East is the one dominantly African area. It is the area of the housing estates. In the Kampala municipal elections of 1962, the potential power and effectiveness of Kampala East's population as leaders and voters was obvious. African candidates and elected were in the majority for Kampala East, while Asians were still in the majority in the other two wards. In Kampala East, Kenya African migrants had provided much of the drive in this ward's political activity.

By the time of the Kampala city council elections of January, 1964, all persons who were not Uganda citizens were disfranchised. This disfranchisement included not only European and Asian non-citizens but Kenya Africans as well. The city elections of January 1964, therefore, concerned a much smaller number of people than in 1962. All three wards were indeed represented by a greater proportion of Africans to non-Africans, though the political drive and activity of 1962 were lacking. The point remains, however, that the population of Kampala East, as it stands, is one which is aware of the current demand for the greater political and social Africanisation of a town like Kampala in an independent African State like Uganda. In contrast, with the exception of an indeterminate number of mostly Ganda of high status, the people of the Kibuga are largely disinterested from and, perhaps, uninterested

in the problem of how quickly Kampala city may come under the greater commercial and social, as well as political, control of its African residents.

Why should the African population of Kampala East, most of whom live in city council housing estates or areas, be differentiated in this way?

In 1956, Southall and Gutkind noted the popularity of the estates in the long waiting lists for houses on them. They noted also that the population in the estates was above the socio-economic average for the African population in Greater Kampala as a whole. Their hypothesis was "that the estates will in the long run cater principally for the non-Ganda whose skill and income is above the average level and who appreciate a more secure and conventionally respectable existence than is at present possible for those who rent rooms in suburbs such as Kisenyi or Mulago (the two areas intensively described and analysed by the authors)".[1] Eight years after the statement, at least, it is possible from the evidence of my data to say that this hypothesis has been borne out.

I describe the estates in detail to illustrate this. Firstly, I describe some quantitative and other features of the whole African population of Greater Kampala. This provides a general background against which the residents of two estates in Kampala East, which I studied, may be seen.

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[1] A.W. Southall and P.C. Gutkind, op.cit., p.49.

b) Greater Kampala

According to the 1959 census the total population of Greater Kampala was 107,058. According to the census of 1948 it was 62,264. Even allowing for the fact that Greater Kampala in 1959 included the extension into Crown Land of Kampala East, the overall increase in population is reasonably pronounced. The increases in non-African population are from 14,324 in 1948 to 26,800 in 1959 for Asians, and from 1,497 to 3,539 for Europeans. The increase for Africans alone is from 46,443 to 76,719. This thesis is concerned with the African population of Kampala East. Therefore, while not denying the obvious importance of the non-African element in town life, including the sphere of race relations, I now concentrate exclusively on figures concerning African populations alone.

The increase in African population from 1948 to 1959 is largely due to labour migration. The officially enumerated Kampala labour force itself increased from 29,381 in 1952 to 38,023 and 36,635 in 1957 and 1958, declining to 27,878 in 1961.[1] While the population of Greater Kampala has not dropped and is probably even higher than the 1959 census figures, the number of wage-earning employees listed by the government department of labour had dropped considerably and was continuing to drop when I left the field in 1964. Fewer jobs are now available, and the wide-scale unemployment has already given cause for alarm.

Yet, in the estates of Kampala East, the number of unemployed

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[1] From the Uganda (Protectorate) Annual Enumerations of Employees, Government Printer, Entebbe.

is relatively low. Few household heads are unemployed, and it is relatives who are seeking work or have just lost jobs and who may be lodging with them who are likely to constitute the majority of unemployed in the ward.

The 1959 census also gives figures indicating the distribution of persons according to age groups in the municipality (the present city), the Kibuga, and for Greater Kampala as a whole.

	% under 16	% 16 - 45	% over 45
Municipality	25.8	69.0	5.1
Kibuga	31.8	57.9	10.3
Greater Kampala	29.9	61.5	8.6
Uganda (estimated)	43.5	43.7	12.8

As might be expected, migrants in Greater Kampala, in the municipality more than the Kibuga, fall mostly in the 16-45 age group. This is the working age group.

Within this age-group the census records the proportion of males to females.

	% Males	% Females
Municipality	69.9	30.1
Kibuga	60.6	39.4
Greater Kampala	63.8	36.2
Uganda	48.9	51.1

The propottion of males to females is significantly higher in the municipality than in the Kibuga. Yet, as I shall illustrate, on the estates I have studied in Kampala East, there is much less of this imbalance.

The average length of residence in Kampala by migrants is not given in the census, but Elkan puts it at about only two years.[1] Mitchell puts it at eight years for Luanshya in Zambia.[2] As I shall show, the people of Kampala East are generally well above the city's average in length of urban residence and may be regarded, therefore, as including those with the most vested urban interests.

The figures gained from the census with regard to the tribal distribution of Greater Kampala's population (Table I) give a general picture of the categories represented, though some important tribes are not specified. Not all the tribes indicated by the census figures are numerically highly significant in the housing estates of Kampala East. I shall discuss those tribes which are significant, both numerically in the estates and for my study. For the moment I give a general description of the main tribes represented in Greater Kampala's population, emphasising particularly the nature of their rural origins.

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1 W. Elkan, 1960, Migrants and Proletarians, Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, p.

2 J.C. Mitchell, 1954, African Urbanisation in Luanshya and Ndola, Rhodes-Livingstone Communication No.6, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka.

c) The Tribes

TABLE I

Tribal Distribution of Africans in Greater Kampala

Tribe	Total	% of African Population
GANDA	37,464	48.8
TORO	5,832	7.6
LUO	5,544	7.2
RUANDA	2,829	3.7
KENYA n.s.(mostly Luhya)	2,818	3.7
ANKOLE	2,492	3.2
TANGANYIKA n.s.(many Haya)	2,163	2.8
ACHOLI	2,080	2.7
KIGA	1,982	2.6
NYORO	1.920	2.5
SUDAN n.s.(mostly Nubi)	1,483	1.9
TESO	1,321	1.7
SAMIA	1,070	1.4
SOGA	1,009	1.3
LUGBARA	914	1.2
CONGO	826	1.1
Other	4,982	6.5
TOTAL	76,729	99.9

Following the conventional linguistic classifications, Kampala's African population may be divided into Bantu, Nilotic, Sudanic, and Nilo-Hamitic groups, with the Nubi, originally from the Sudan, of indeterminate classification but including mostly Muslims. The Bantu and Nilotic groups are by far the largest.

Overlapping these linguistic classifications are those based on national origin. Thus, some Bantu and Nilotes are from Kenya as well as Uganda. Some Bantu are from what was formerly Ruanda-Urundi and from Tanganyika as well as from Uganda and Kenya.

To some extent cultural, traditional political, and social characteristics coincide with the linguistic classifications.

Thus, all the Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Sudanic groups are, or were traditionally, politically uncentralised, characteristically falling into the broad category of segmentary lineage societies. So, too, are some Bantu, like the Kiga (sometimes spelt Ciga, and pronounced 'chiga'), Samia, and Luhya.

Other Bantu, like the Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, Toro, Ankole, and Ruanda, are politically centralised, but to varying extents.

Virtually nothing is known regarding migrants from the Congo beyond the fact that they are Bantu.

The Bantu groups, in the order in which they are listed in Table I, are Ganda, Toro, Ruanda, Ankole, Luhya, Nyoro, Haya, Kiga, Congo, Soga, and Samia.

The Nilotes are Luo, Acholi, and, subsumed in "others", Lango, Alur, Jonam, and Padhola. I mention these latter tribes even though they are not listed in the census-based table, because they are significant in my analysis of Kampala East.

The Nilo-Hamites in Kampala are almost exclusively Teso. There are very few Nandi and Karamojong.

The Sudanic speaking groups are predominantly Lugbara, together with the closely related Madi.

Of the Bantu, the Luhya and a quarter of the closely related Samia are from Kenya. The Luhya really consist of autonomous but very close sub-tribes who have come to constitute a single "tribe" only in recent times for political and administrative purposes. About three-quarters of the Samia in Kampala come from the Uganda side of the border with Kenya. The Bantu Haya are from Tanganyika.

Of the Nilotes, the Luo are from Kenya. Together, the Luo and Luhya, plus the relatively small number of Kenya Samia, have exerted considerable influence in post-war years in the development of African urban institutions in Kampala. Kenyans generally may be said to have experienced a more disturbing impact of the related forces of colonialism, urbanization, and industrialisation than Ugandans. This experience has to some extent been diffused into Kampala's institutions. As a group of singular influence they are only surpassed in some respects by the local Ganda. All other Nilotes are from Uganda. The most numerous of them are the Acholi and Lango.

The Sudanic Lugbara and Madi, and the Nilo-Hamitic Teso are all from Uganda.

I now describe the main tribes more fully.

The Ganda are the tribe local to Kampala. Buganda is one of the four provinces of Uganda. But only about two-thirds of the people in Buganda are Ganda. Most of the non-Ganda are immigrant labourers who have either come to work for Ganda landlords or have been given permission by them, in return for a fee, to occupy and work land themselves. But the Ganda themselves number over a million. Their kingdom has always enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy even under British rule. The extent to which it may continue to be allowed to enjoy internal autonomy in the independent Uganda state poses a difficult and delicate problem for this nation.

Under the British this autonomy derived from the recognition by the colonial power of the relative political advancement of the Ganda kingdom when Lugard first made his claim over it. Considerably

modified, though in many ways even more institutionally entrenched, the Ganda kingdom endorsed its political and social complexity under the British. The traditional system of land tenure had been at the basis of the feudal-like system of social stratification. There were various legal enactments with regard to land tenure at intervals from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. There was also the introduction of the cash cropping of cotton and coffee and immersion in a cash economy. These innovations put even higher material and status value on individual land tenure, to some extent ownership. The resultant factors of individual and de facto freehold land tenure, more or less so in different regions, more individualistically based and achieved social strata, and the subsequent physical dispersion of people made the system of stratification more class-like and less based on, among other things, agnatic kinship affiliations.[1] The situation now is that, though the Ganda are still referred to as "patrilineal", the transmission of property, including land, authority and status, is passed down through women as well as males. Patriliny is a relative concept and, compared with certain tribes of East Africa, Ganda kinship affiliations may nowadays be regarded as bilateral in many respects, not only in the transmission of property and rights, but also in situations of expressive and instrumental co-activity. Lineages and clans are generally not localised.

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[1] L.A. Fallers, 1964, The King's Men, O.U.P. for E.A.I.S.R.

The Toro[1] in particular, and, to lesser extents, the Soga[2] and Nyoro[3] share many characteristics of present-day Ganda social organisation.

The four tribes fall into what are called the Interlacustrine Bantu, all of which have been referred to as patrilineal. The Toro and Nyoro are two tribes of the Western Province. Like the Ganda, they have a supreme tribal ruler or king, called the Omukama. Both tribes have preserved, or have been encouraged to preserve, their traditional fairly highly centralised political systems. The Soga of the Eastern Province consisted of a number of petty kingdoms, each highly centralised. There was no supreme Soga ruler. Nowadays, the Kyabazinga is constitutional head of the whole Soga tribe and district.

Among these tribes there have been few legal enactments over the years relating to land. But cash cropping has developed on appreciable scales, particularly in Busoga. De facto freehold land tenure, or at least the acquiring and holding of land by individuals rather than minimal lineages, has developed in some areas, particularly those close to towns. "Tithes" payable to village headmen or chiefs for the use of land are in many cases considerable sums of cash. Kinsmen, including agnates, are commonly physically dispersed. Aspects of a more bilateral kinship system have emerged. Lineages and clans, like those of the Ganda, are

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1 B.K. Taylor, 1962, The Western Lacustrine Bantu, Africa Ethnographic Series, O.U.P. for International African Institute.

2 L. Fallers, 1956, Bantu Bureaucracy, Cambridge, W.Heffer & Son for E.A.I.S.R.

3 J. Beattie, 1960, Bunyoro, An African Kingdom, New York: Henry Holt.

generally not localized.

The Ankole are also politically centralised. They have a supreme ruler, the Omugabe. The traditional caste-like division between ruling pastoral Hima and agricultural, serf-like Iru has not broken down completely. Unfortunately little is known about the present day kinship and local organisation of the Ankole.[1] But the Iru appear to be settled in patrilineage-based local communities and do not as yet seem to have acquired the characteristics of the centralised tribes above. It is only the Iru who are significant in Kampala's labour force, according to the statements of Kampala Ankole themselves. For these reasons, it would be unjustifiable to regard the Ankole who work in Kampala in the same light as the Ganda, Soga, Toro and Nyoro. Moreover, they are numerically insignificant in Kampala East.

The Ankole Iru do seem to share much in common with the Kiga. The Ankole and Kiga are adjacent tribes of the Western Province. Like the four tribes described above, the Ankole and Kiga speak Bantu languages which, in their case, are mutually intelligible. The Kiga appear to be organised similarly into localised agnatic lineages and clans, though the genealogical depth of these units is still not known.[2] Kiga traditional society was politically uncentralised. Modern Kiga society has none of the stratification of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu kingdoms.

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1 K. Oberg, in M.Fortes and E.E.Evans-Pritchard, 1940, African Political Systems, O.U.P. for I.A.I.
The late D.J.Stenning had done considerable fieldwork among the Ankole but was unable to publish his findings.

2 M.M.Edel, 1957, The Chiga of Western Uganda, O.U.P. for I.A.I. and P.T.W. Baxter, in A.I. Richards (ed.), 1959, East African Chiefs Faber for E.A.I.S.R.

The Ruanda do not originate from Uganda, though a number have settled and in some cases were born in Buganda, where they have migrated in large numbers to work for Ganda landowners.[1] The one-time Kingdom of Ruanda lies to the south of Uganda. It was politically centralised. Its system of stratification was caste-like, consisting of a division between pastoral Tutsi and agricultural Hutu, and was thus more similar to the Ankole system than that of the other Inter-lacustrine kingdoms.[2] Most of the Ruanda who have migrated to work in Kampala itself are said to be Hutu, though the fact that a significant though small minority of Tutsi are in the town is evidenced by the existence, or sometime existence, of individual and separate Hutu and Tutsi Kampala tribal associations.

The Haya, or Ziba as they are alternatively known in Kampala, were also traditionally politically centralised. Their language is similar to the dialects of the Nyoro, Toro, and Ankole, though their political organisation into autonomous petty kingdoms is similar to that of the Soga.

An impression is that most of the Haya who have migrated to Kampala are self-employed and unskilled workers. Many of the migrants are unattached women who are widely reputed to be traders, market stall holders, and, especially, prostitutes. Like the Ruanda, most of whom are also unskilled, the Haya assume many Ganda

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1 A.I. Richards (ed.), 1955, Economic Development and Tribal Change, Cambridge, Heffer & Sons for E.A.I.S.R.

2 J.J.P. Maquet, 1961, The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

characteristics of behaviour and, to some extent, have entered the lower cadres of Ganda life and even of the Ganda population. A feature of Ganda rural society is its easy assimilation of strangers. There are very few Haya in the housing estates of Kampala East.

The Nilotic Kenya Luo have linguistic and cultural affinities with the Uganda Acholi, Alur, Jonam, and Padhola. All are highly patrilineal. The Lango are Nilotic speakers, their language being quite close to that of the Acholi, though it is likely that they were once Nilo-Hamites who assimilated Nilotic speech and customs during the southward migrations of the Nilotes.

The Kenya Luo most closely approach the "classical" uncentralised, segmentary lineage society as instanced among the Nuer, another, more distant, Nilotic tribe and as described by Evans-Pritchard.[1] Among the Luo, localised lineages of increasingly wider levels are numerous. Sometimes they are not localised. Very frequently, they are all highly corporate. Clans and maximal lineages are also generally localised and exhibit a relatively high degree of corporateness.[2]

The Acholi are also an uncentralised segmentary lineage society based on strong principles of agnation. But aristocratic lineages have developed among and co-exist in the same "domain"[3] with common lineages. In the existence of these very slight aspects of

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1 M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard (eds), op.cit.

2 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Luo Tribes and Clans, Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 1949, and,
A.W. Southall, 1952, Lineage Formation among the Luo, I.A.I. Memorandum No.XXVI, Oxford.

3 F.K. Girling, The Acholi of Uganda, H.M.S.O.

centralisation over and above agnatically defined local groups they have something in common with their western neighbours, the Alur and Jonam.[1]

The Lango are also uncentralised. The primary basis of their social organisation was and is the segmentary lineage system, though to what extent and in precisely what way is unknown. The Padhola, or Dama as they are sometimes called by neighbouring Bantu, are also uncentralised and based on a segmentary lineage system. Insufficient literature is available on the Padhola, though it would seem that they have much in common with the Kenya Luo.

In Kampala, these Nilotes come to understand each others' dialects. A loose super-fraternity exists between them especially since Inter-lacustrine Bantu often indiscriminately refer to them all as "barbarians" or "foreigners", using the Luganda word abanamawanga.

The Lugbara are also politically uncentralised. They are organised into relatively shallow patrilineal descent groups and have been designated as one of at least three types of segmentary society.[2] Except for the Madi, the Lugbara in Kampala are unable to establish a wider fraternity of tribes speaking similar languages. They are not a large category of Kampala's population and are somewhat isolated in many respects from other tribespeaple. They are perhaps the most inward-looking of all major tribal groupings in the city. For all this, principles of social organisation

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1 A.W. Southall, 1956, Alur Society, Cambridge: Heffer & Sons for E.A.I.S.R.

2 J. Middleton and D.Tait (eds.), 1958, Tribes Without Rulers, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

deriving from their segmentary lineage system give them much in common, from the observational point of view, with the other segmentary lineage tribes.

Little is known about the Teso in their home country. They stress the existence of "clans", that is, exogamous local units, and are certainly strongly patrilineal, though the extent to which, say, minimal, minor and major lineages also tend to be localised is unknown.[1] As Nilo-Hamites, it may be supposed that the Teso enjoyed a dominant age organisation which may have militated against clearly delineated lineage segmentation, but, nowadays, age organisation is not significant. The Teso, almost certainly once pastoral, are now settled agriculturalists with a continuing high interest in cattle. Teso District favours the growing of cotton as a cash crop. The district enjoys a high per capita income from its yields.

The Bantu Luhya of Kenya are uncentralised and, at clan and lineage levels, have much in common with the Luo. They have a segmentary lineage organisation within each of the component Luhya subtribes.[2] But beyond the level of subtribe, there is no tradition of the past fission of larger groups. As I stated above, the Luhya have come to be regarded as a single tribe with internal subtribal divisions only in recent times, and mostly for administrative and political purposes. The Luo, on the other hand, conceive of their

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1 A.C. Wright, Notes on Iteso Social Organisation, Uganda Journal, vol.IX, no.2.

2 Gunter Wagner, Vol.1, 1949 and Vol.2,1956, The Bantu of North Kavirondo, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

respective subtribes[1] as related in some way and as deriving from the fission of a smaller number of groups. Their myths of origin refer to the migration from the north, that is, from the Sudan, of the Luo as one people. For all this, at the local lineage and clan level and, superficially, at the tribal level, the Luo and Luhya share structural similarities.

Most so-called Sudanese state that they are Nubi, a term referring to a number of tribes in the southern Sudan. Most Nubi have been settled in Uganda for some generations. They are predominantly Muslim and have developed a particular acumen for retail trade and other commercial ventures, in common with many other Muslims.

With the exception of the Nubi, Ruanda and Ankole, Kampala's African population can be divided into two super-tribal categories on the basis of the distinction between traditionally centralised and uncentralised segmentary lineage societies. Such centralised Inter-lacustrine Bantu as Ganda, Toro, Nyoro, and Soga constitute one category, while the uncentralised Luo, Luhya, Acholi, Lango, Lugbara, Alur, Jonam, Padhola and Teso constitute the other category, considerably internally distinguished by geographical situation, national origins, and language.

The four Inter-lacustrine kingdoms exhibit a high degree of political, social and economic similarity. Linguistically, culturally, and geographically, they are close. The segmentary

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[1] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, 1949, op.cit., designates the name "tribe" for each of the large, separate, local entities which are nowadays referred to as locations for administrative purposes. As the Luo regard themselves as ultimately belonging to a single collectivity or tribe, it seems appropriate to refer to these divisions as sub-tribes.

lineage tribes may differ in all these respects. Even the classification "segmentary lineage tribe" disguises radical differences in type and extent.

What, then, is the significance of bringing out this dual distinction? A similar distinction has been made by Southall and Gutkind who had cause to comment more than once on "... the tribal prejudice based on the linguistic and cultural affinities of the Interlacustrine Bantu vis-a-vis the rest".[1] It need not be elaborated that the distinction I have brought out is not merely one of political organisation. As is now well established, in many relatively small-scale societies political relations are often reflections of clan, lineage, family, general kinship, and land tenure and other economic relations. The significance of this distinction, then, is the way in which persons accustomed or even tied to these different sets of rural-based relations are similarly differentiated in their urban relations. In Chapters II and III I attempt to confirm the bases of this distinction.

None of this is intended to suggest that I regard an urban migrant's tribal background per se as a dominant determinant of the nature and content of his urban relations. In the study of many spheres of activity, as Epstein has pointed out, rural tribal culture and institutions are irrelevant.[2] But sometimes, as in the distinction cited above, the anthropologist in the field sees

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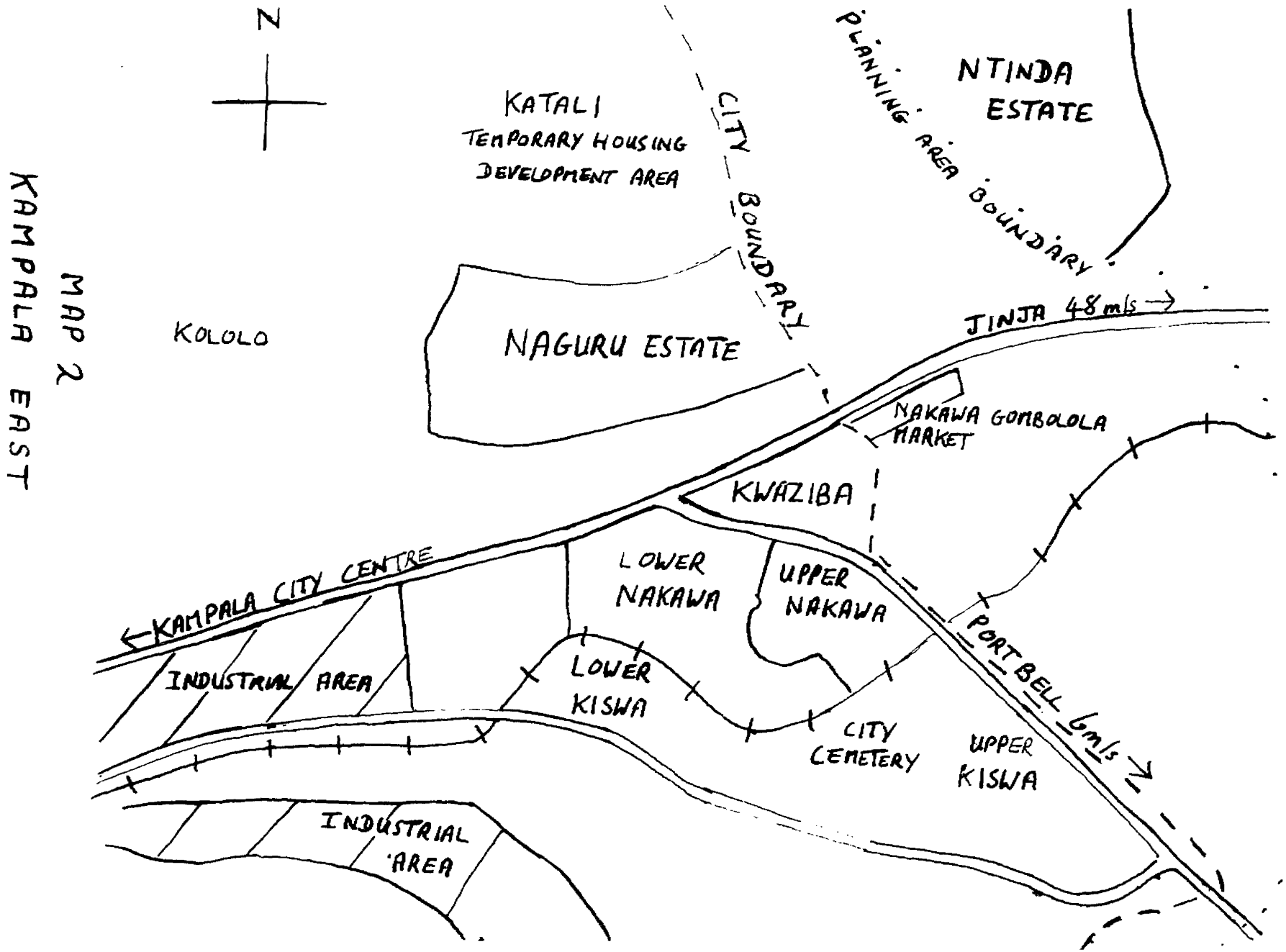
[1] A.W. Southall and P.C.W. Gutkind, op.cit., p.83.

[2] A.L. Epstein, 1964, Urban Communities in Africa, in M.Gluckman and E. Devons (eds.), Closed Systems and Open Minds, Oliver & Boyd.

a sometimes glaring contrast in certain modes of urban relationship. I consider this distinction in those relationships in which it is relevant, not for its own sake, but because the observation of certain empirical data warranted it.

The Ganda are, of course, dominant in Greater Kampala. They constitute 48.8% of the African population of Greater Kampala. In the Kibuga itself the proportion of Ganda is 62.5%. But in the city alone their numbers are considerably reduced and constitute only 18.8% of the population. This reduction of numbers also applies to the other centralised Interlacustrine Bantu. The proportion of non-Ganda is, of course, increased. The Ganda and Luo are in many ways the key tribes in Kampala, not so much numerically as influentially. In the Kibuga and in Greater Kampala as a whole Luo are far outnumbered by the Ganda. But in the city the two tribes are more or less equally represented, Luo constituting 14.3% of the city's African population to the Ganda 18.8%. It is in the two housing estates studied in Kampala East that this equivalence of Ganda and Luo is most closely approached, though here it is the Luo who have assumed dominance. Very loosely, then, Kampala East is something of a microcosm of the city in the presumably future joint participation in its affairs by local and migrant tribes.



MAP 2

KAMPALA EAST

d) Kampala East

Implicit in the foregoing has been the separation of Kampala East, in particular the populations of the housing estates composing the ward, from the rest of the city. The rest of the city consists mostly of commercial, administrative and high status residential areas. Most residents are still Asians and Europeans, though an increasing number of high status Africans have moved into the residential areas.

Further, the city as a whole is separate, in the manner described, from the Kibuga. Some areas of the Kibuga which are occasionally referred to in this thesis are Kisenyi, Kibuli, Mengo and Katwe. In view of their peri-urban nature, I shall call these areas Kibuga suburbs. There are a few socially comparable areas in the city itself, such as Mulago, Wandegeya, Makerere (the village, not the university college).[1] Distinct from these Kibuga and city suburbs are the high status residential areas of the city, such as Kololo and Nakasero, which I shall refer to as such. There are other areas both in the city and Kibuga, but I do not have occasion to refer to them.

In Kampala East itself it is the various housing estates which have justified its being established as a ward and have made it a very important, increasingly integral part of the city.

The history of the estates is only recent. Up until they were established shortly after the Second World War official policy

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[1] Southall and Gutkind, 1957, op.cit., refer to Kisenyi and Mulago as suburbs.

did not specifically provide for the accommodation of African workers. Thus, a distinctive feature of Kampala and other Uganda towns was the tendency of its migrant workers to live outside the municipal boundaries in the suburbs. In Kampala and Jinja alone, where the need was greatest, employers were not obliged to house their employees. These factors in particular helped along the considerable spontaneous urban development, both residential and commercial, which sprang up outside Kampala municipality and outside the town's control.

In 1948 and 1949, two Kampala municipal housing estates for Africans were established. These were Naguru and Nakawa. In the Uganda (Protectorate) Statement of Policy on African Urban Housing, published in 1954,[1] official policy stated that "(Naguru) provided a better standard of housing for the higher income group of wage earners, while (Nakawa) provided housing mainly for unskilled workers". It was only later realised that "(this) sharp geographical distiction between low and high income groups is not desirable and that grades of property and population should be shaded into each other and not so abruptly divided as in the case of these two estates".

Still later, two other forms of residence for Africans were established. One was the home-ownership scheme estate at Ntinda. The intention here was to encourage Africans to buy or build their own permanent houses. The capital needed for a deposit on such a house was and is 20% of the value of the house. This might

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[1] Government Printer, Entebbe.

mean an initial payment of Shs.1000 - 1500/-.[1] Only a small number of people could afford this. The second of these later forms of residence was the Temporary Housing Development scheme. The idea was and is to encourage a man to build a temporary house, which would be inspected every five years by the Public Health and Housing authorities, and would be repaired if necessary. Such a scheme operates at Kiswa and Katali. In both these schemes, house letting by absent landlords has developed. Rents at Ntinda may be Shs.100-200/- a month for a house, and at Kiswa and Katali Shs.30-40/- a month for a room.

Letting by absent landlords has also occurred in the suburbs referred to above. A brief random sample survey made during October 1962 in Wandegeya, Mulago, Kisenyi, Katwe, Kibuli, Nsambya and Kinyoro, revealed that over two thirds of the rents were in the Shs. 20-40/- range. In these suburbs, the normal urban amenities and facilities are negligible, and though residents are not subject to petty restrictions, the lives they lead are generally insecure.

At the government estate of Nakawa, rents range from Shs.7/- for a bedspace, to Shs.17/- and 23/- for houses. Amenities such as street lighting, a fair number of water taps, daily collection of garbage, and, in admittedly only a few Shs.23/- houses, electricity, seem to offer most people better value for their money than residence in most of the suburbs. Even such forms of self-

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[1] 20 East African Shillings = £1 Sterling. (100 cents = 1 East African Shilling).

employment as laundering, tailoring, shoe mending, fish, vegetable or charcoal selling, beer brewing and prostitution, though officially discouraged if they are carried on in private houses, are entered into by a few residents.

At Naguru, the other government estate, amenities are greater and rents are, generally, considerably higher.

Residence at Nakawa, therefore, stands out as the most economic choice for the migrant worker who intends to stay for some time in Kampala and, to re-quote part of Southall and Gutkind's hypothesis, "who appreciates a more secure and conventionally respectabl existence than is at present possible for those who rent rooms in suburbs such as Kisenyi and Mulago". The recognition of this better value for money has encouraged many workers whose skill and income are above the average level, to apply for houses or bedspaces at Nakawa. Since there is a waiting list of about two years, one can assume that most householders are people who have decided to commit themselves to a reasonably longer period of employment in town.

Furthermore, these people may have spent most of their time prior to moving to Nakawa in any of the Kampala suburbs or at one of the temporary housing areas of Kiswa or Katali. The scarcity value of residence at Nakawa together with its better amenities[1] confers a higher residential status on the estate than that accorded

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[1] This is not to say that the amenities are either abundant or of a very high standard. Residents constantly grumble about the lack of them compared with Naguru and Ntinda estates, and some of the areas nearer the city centre. But, compared with the suburbs, they are certainly better.

to the other two types of locality, the suburb and temporary housing area. From Nakawa, however, persons may aspire to residence at the better and more expensive estate of Naguru, and from Naguru to the estate of Ntinda, where many residents are among the most affluent of Kampala's "middle class".

There is, then, a hierarchy of some Kampala localities according to residential status. Residents range from the fully unskilled to the relatively high wage-earning migrant, with a preponderance of the former at the lower orders of the hierarchy and most of the latter at the higher. Moreover, as persons achieve status or generally better themselves in town, they move from lower to higher status estates.

This movement from lower to higher status estates, or localities as I shall call them and certain divisions of them, is of central interest to my thesis, concerned as it is with systems of social stratification and mobility in a single city ward.

The term and initial concept of locality are taken from A.L. Epstein who describes some aspects of "the social relationships associated with neighbourhood and locality". He draws an important distinction between neighbourhood and locaity stating that, "..... neighbourhood shades into locality. Each part of the town, and each division or ward of the location is distinguished by the name conferred upon it by the local authority".[1] This dual distinction of neighbourhood and locality, each specifically defined,

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[1] A.L. Epstein, 1961, The Network and Urban Social Organisation, The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No.29, Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

is itself of central usefulness in my analysis. I suggest that the social units designated as neighbourhood and locality provide among the most effective contexts of change in urban relationships, when the physical establishment and administration of these units rests with external authorities, as is the case with public housing estates.

My study is concentrated almost wholly on the two estates of Nakawa and Naguru. I shall describe my fieldwork techniques and methodology in the next section of this chapter.

For the moment I describe, firstly, the physical characteristics of the two estates and their immediate environs (see Map 2, page 35) and, secondly, the quantitative breakdown of their populations according to tribe and income, occupation, length of urban residence, and marital status.

Nakawa and Naguru are roughly divided by the main Kampala to Jinja road. Naguru is slightly set back from this road. It occupies an area of about a third of a square mile and has 645 houses. Nakawa occupies an area of about an eighth of a square mile and has 823 houses and bedspaces. Nakawa is not set back from the Kampala-Jinja road. Its boundaries adjoin this road and also a turning off it called the Port Bell Road. This road links Kampala with Port Bell, six miles away on Lake Victoria, from where the lake steamer ferries migrants to various ports around the lake, a chief one of which is Kisumu on its Kenya coast.

The triangular area formed by the junction of the Jinja and Port Bell roads and immediately facing Nakawa is called Kwaziba,

which in Swahili means "at the place of the Ziba". The Ziba, or Haya as they are alternatively known, are a tribe in Tanganyika to the south-west of Lake Victoria. Their women have a reputation in Kampala and elsewhere for prostitution. Ziba prostitutes and prostitutes of other tribes carry on their business in small mud and wattle huts at Kwaziba. Close to their huts and sometimes intersected by them are make-shift stalls at which trinkets and cheap finery are sold. "African" beer[1] is brewed at Kwaziba. The liquor called waragi is distilled there, though illegally. "African" beer, waragi, and prostitutes are cheap, the latter asking only two shillings for their services. Tribal drumming and dances abound in spontaneous fashion. Kwaziba is a thriving place of recreation and leisure, providing facilities which poorer urban migrants can afford.

At a little distance from Kwaziba, adjoining the Jinja road, but just outside the city boundary is Nakawa market. The stalls of this market are let on Nakawa gombolola[2] land by the Nakawa gombolola chief for fifty cents a day. All traditional tribal foodstuffs are sold at these stalls, tribespeople usually catering for their respective members. There are as many women sellers as men. Foodstuffs include banana plantain, dried fish, meat, and

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[1] This includes millet beer, which has nutrient qualities and is often regarded as much a food as a drink.

[2] Nakawa gombolola is a sub-county of Buganda and has to be distinguishe physically, administratively and socially from Nakawa housing estate, though the latter does, of course, derive its name from the gombolola which once included the area which the estate now occupies.

vegetables. Situated as it is, closer to Naguru than to Nakawa, yet bearing the latter's name, the market has come to be regarded as providing for residents of both estates.

To the south-east of Nakawa estate, and separated from it by the Kampala-Jinja railway line, is the temporary housing development area of Kiswa. Kiswa is divided into its upper and lower areas. People talk of Upper and Lower Kiswa. Upper Kiswa is the area in which plots of land are sold by the city council to persons wishing to build houses. The houses need not be of permanent structure, though, officially at least, they should be inspected by the city authorities every five years. Most of the houses, which may have four to six rooms each, are let. Each room is let to an individual or family for from thirty to forty shillings a month. A large proportion of residents are prostitutes, or just enterprising women of self-employed status, who charge considerably more for their services than the women of Kwaziba. Male residents of Kiswa, whether unmarried or with their families, are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled, though there is a highly mobile, smaller proportion of men of skilled artisan and clerical status. These latter frequently express their distaste of residence in Kiswa and attempt to move to Nakawa or Naguru.

Upper Kiswa has many so-called 'European" bottle-beer bars. This beer is, of course, far more expensive than "African" beer. These bars are semi-permanent dwellings, seemingly modelled on the European-type small "clubs". They carry such names as "Moonlight Bar" and "Superjet". The barmaids working in them live in Upper Kiswa and are also the prostitutes referred to. The

prices of beer are fixed, and the proprietor employs a woman as a barmaid and no more. She carries on her own business of prostitution privately, outside working hours, and decides on the charges for her services herself. The fact is that, though residents in Upper Kiswa are mostly of relatively low socio-economic status, as a place of recreation offering the more expensive bottle-beer bars and women, Upper Kiswa attracts a clientele of higher than average socio-economic status who are themselves not residents.

Those persons owning the land plots, houses and bars are also of high socio-economic status. They are the estate's landlords. The number of landlords is 223, and includes 141 of the local tribe, Ganda, and 44 Luo.

Lower Kiswa as a place of recreation is quite distinct from Upper Kiswa and has much in common with Kwaziba. The same people tend to go to each. The rooms there are cheaper, and the houses less substantial, some of them of purely temporary materials like mud and wattle. Lower Kiswa accommodates the cheap "African" beer stalls. These stalls are out in the open and consist of tables and benches arranged in on-facing squares. No stall has any particular name, though proprietors are distinguished from each other.

Nakawa estate itself has very few recreational facilities. There is one bottle-beer bar which, probably because of its isolation from other leisure activity, is never well patronised. There is a very small building, called the community centre, which is a fraction of the size of the community centre at Naguru.

The estate has a small general store, a tailor's shop, and a small clinic, which is used exclusively for childcare by trained nurses who visit the estate a couple of days a week.

At the centre of each estate is the estate manager's office. The estate manager is a full-time public employee[1], directly answerable to the city council housing committee. He has two or three assistant managers working under him in the office. His main tasks are to collect tenants' rents, which are brought to him at his office by the tenants themselves, to evict tenants who have fallen behind with their payments or who have violated the lives of other residents, and, ostensibly, to settle tenants' grievances. He is also responsible for the allocation of houses according to the waiting list which he has to draw up. For both Nakawa and Naguru, the waiting lists were always between seven and eight hundred persons. From the time he applies, an applicant has to wait from two to three years before he is offered a house. This system is handled fairly on the whole by the estate manager, even though it would seem inevitably to lend itself to graft and bribery.

Each estate is divided into about thirty groups of from ten to over sixty houses. The larger groups are arranged in on-facing squares. A smaller group is usually either a single line of houses or two facing lines with a narrow road between them. The groups arranged in on-facing squares are more common at Nakawa than Naguru. Except for a single main road running through the estate, roads at Naguru are also narrow. Some Naguru tenants who own cars state

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[1] Comparable, presumably, to the Location Superintendent referred to by Epstein, 1964, op.cit.

that those who designed the layout of the estates "never realised it would one day be possible for Africans to own cars".

The cheaper houses at Nakawa and Naguru are usually four-terraced. Progressively more expensive houses are semi-detached. Nakawa has a number of what are called bedspaces, of which there are usually four to a room. Short-term migrants normally use these at a cost of Shs.7/- a month. A few men with families, however, have taken over a whole room for 28/-.

Each estate is divided up into different rent zones. Like Kiswa, Nakawa has its Upper and Lower areas. These terms of reference were coined by the residents themselves, not by the housing authorities. I discuss the distinction in detail in Chapter IV.

Naguru is also divided into different rent zones. A few residents talk of "upper" and "lower" Naguru, but the term is not commonplace as among the Nakawa residents. Presumably the fact that the majority of Naguru tenants are of relatively high status and can, as it were, look down on the majority of Nakawa tenants as socio-economic inferiors precludes much stress on a distinction of this sort within their own estate.

Naguru has a large community centre and a comfortable and well supplied bar. There are usually a number of dances at the centre throughout each week. At weekends the centre is often visited by persons living in the higher status residential areas of the city and Ntinda. Talks, lectures, and meetings are also carried on at the centre.

A feature of both Nakawa and Naguru is the existence of a large mango tree at a little distance from the estate manager's office. At Naguru this tree is at the centre of a pleasant stretch of lawn. At Nakawa it stands somewhat awkwardly towards one corner of an on-facing square of sixty-eight cheaper four-terraced houses. The general meetings of some tribal associations and of the respective estates' tenants' associations are often held under the mango tree. People speak of "the mango tree" as a point of reference to indicate, say, precisely where a dispute took place, or to direct someone to an address. Needless to say, the mango trees long preceded the estates.

Most houses at Nakawa have neither piped water nor electricity, though a few in Upper Nakawa have the latter. Water taps with laundry slabs serve about six or eight houses. Nowadays, individual pit latrines are provided for each house. Even more recently, a few water closets have been installed to replace the original communal latrines of the bedspaces, which had caused so much mutual disgust among tribespeople with different sanitary habits. There is a fireplace for burning charcoal in each kitchen, which in the Nakawa houses is more of a small cupboard-cum-outhouse. Some people prefer to cook on primus stoves by paraffin.

Nakawa houses have one room, in addition to the small kitchen. Most homes have a curtain drawn across the part of the room occupied by the husband and wife's single-sized bed, separating them from other members of the household sleeping (usually on clothes, blankets or cushions) in the room. The psychological difficulties of cohabitation experienced in these conditions by a man and wife with children are obvious. When there are more than two or three

children of more than a few years of age, it is often necessary for one or more to sleep in the kitchen rather than in the room itself. "Brothers" and lodgers also frequently sleep in the kitchen.

Though some Naguru homes experience these problems of congestion, more householders are more comfortably accommodated in their often considerably more expensive houses. A larger proportion of Naguru houses have piped water and electricity, as well as more than one room.

On both Nakawa and Naguru, back gardens are dug by either wives or husbands, and crops used in the preparation of traditional tribal foods are grown in them. A few Upper Nakawa householders grow flowers in their front gardens. A larger proportion have done so at Naguru. On both estates, front and back gardens are usually open, though some householders demarcate their gardens by growing hedges or banana trees.

Bus services from the estates to the city centre are infrequent. People complain about this and about the fact that they have to walk to their jobs in the city centre or in the industrial area, which is nearer Kampala East but still half an hour's walk.

A final important descriptive feature of Kampala East concerns the languages which are used in general communication. Against the background of individually different tribal tongues, the need for a common language emerges. For Kampala East, with its major population division between Inter-lacustrine Bantu and the rest, and with an overlapping division between "educated" and "uneducated", three major common languages emerge. These are Swahili, Luganda and English.

The fact that Swahili is spoken on a wide scale among sectors of Kampala's population causes both surprise and scepticism to those who have not investigated the phenomenon. The scope of the language is also questioned. Elkan goes so far as to claim that "Swahili, as it is spoken in Uganda, is ..... a code rather than a language and its sole virtue is that it is easy to learn for all concerned".[1] The first part of this statement was made with reference to a group of workers in a single workplace and obscures the possibility that in a common local community the scope of Swahili may be greater, especially among specific sectors of the population. I would not dispute that the language is easy to learn.

Many Kenya migrants come to Kampala with a reasonably good command of a brand of Swahili. The Swahili may not satisfy the purists or be approved of by coastal people. But it is rich in vocabulary and expression. It is definitely not a form of "kitchen Swahili". The Kenyans constitute a key grouping in Kampala East and, in this ward at least, their brand of Swahili has been picked up in varying proportions by some non-Kenyans. Its use is far more widespread in Nakawa than in Naguru. The Nakawa tenants' association general meetings are held in Swahili, and the proceedings are translated into English. At Naguru, the association's meetings are held in English and translated into both Swahili and Luganda. Nakawa is very much more of a Swahili-speaking community than Naguru. Naguru is more of an English- and Luganda-speaking community. But Naguru, like the rest of Kampala East, does have a high proportion of Swahili speakers.

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[1] W. Elkan, op.cit., p.67.

The languages of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu are in some cases closely related to Luganda. In some districts, including a few non-Bantu, Luganda has in the past been taught in schools. The Inter-lacustrine Bantu, in particular, but also Kenya Bantu, find it relatively easy to pick up Luganda, so that a high proportion of the ward's population acquire varying degrees of fluency in the language. The larger number of Bantu living at Naguru, particularly Ganda, is reflected in the addition of Luganda as a language in the estate's tenants' association proceedings.

Though some Ganda show a reluctance to speak Swahili, even when they have been taught it, other centralised Bantu acquire, again, varying degrees of fluency in the language, which falls into the Bantu category. Conversely, a remarkably high proportion of non-Bantu have acquired some fluency in Luganda. The Luo and Alur in particular, and to a lesser extent the Acholi and Lango, show great enthusiasm to learn the language, a few even attending evening classes. More usually Ganda or Bantu friends, especially female friends, provide their sources of informal instruction in Luganda. But, unlike the Bantu, these Nilotes continue to speak Luganda with distinctive accents. Some Teso claimed they had been taught Luganda at school. I cannot explain why the Nilotes should appear relatively eager to learn Luganda, except that they may feel their chances of success in a town largely dominated by Ganda are greater if they aspire to speak the language of this tribe. Additionally, of course, they find the language useful in casual relationships with Inter-lacustrine Bantu, especially women, in the town. The Lugbara and

Madi, in contrast, show little desire to learn Luganda. This is probably derives from their comparative isolation from all other tribes, both Bantu and non-Bantu.

English is seen as the prerogative of those designated or regarding themselves as "educated". This designation is not just based on the number of years of formal education a man has received. It particularly refers to a person's general manner and bearing, and the extent to which he uses English in his work and leisure. Generally, persons with seven or eight years of formal school education can speak English with a reasonably high degree of fluency, though their standard of written English may be low. Below this level of education, people tend to lack fluency. But there are many exceptions to this.

The ability to speak English, the ability to write it, and employ it in a job requiring its use, are some of the criteria used in assessing a person's general socio-economic status. The better paid jobs tend to be those requiring the use of English. They usually require special dress, such as a tie, white shirt, long trousers (rather than shorts), and leather shoes, and so diacritically mark their owner off from others in dissimilar jobs.

Naguru has more residents of this white-collar, English-speaking category. Some Nakawa residents refer to "the English speakers of Naguru". But Nakawa does have a substantial number of English speakers. As a whole, Kampala East may be said to have more English speakers than any other major area of dominantly African residence.

While Swahili, Luganda, and English are undoubtedly the most important languages of general communication, the use of their respective dialects among Nilotes of separate tribes ranks as a much less efficient but fairly widespread medium of communication. The languages of the Alur and Jonam of north-west Uganda and the Luo of Kenya are very similar. There is a degree of mutual intelligibility. This applies, to lesser and varying extents, among the Acholi, Lango, and Padhola. In terms of address, in the casual exchanges of categorical joking relationships, and in general brief discourse, this relative mutual intelligibility of language among urban Nilotes reinforces a loose sense of fraternity.

This description of Kampala East has illustrated some general physical and social features of the estates, and has indicated, also, the important distinction in these same features between Nakawa and Naguru. It has also shown the general functional relationship to each estate's population of such areas as Kwaziba, Upper and Lower Kiswa, and Nakawa market.

I now present a quantitative description of the two estates, using figures to show in what ways they differ from each other and commenting on their general differences as populations of Kampala East from the populations of the suburbs of Greater Kampala. In the following section I state how I obtained these figures and the smaller sample of figures used in following chapters. Throughout, I use the present tense, although my fieldwork was conducted between July, 1962, and March, 1964, and I had to rely on even older documentary evidence.

e) The people of Nakawa and Naguru

At one count taken in September, 1962, there were 2,157 adults and 1,012 children residing at Nakawa.[1] Practically all the adults fall into the 16-45 age category. The estimated population of Naguru is no more than 1,500 adults and 600 children. Adults also fall into the 16-45 age category.

An immediate criterion distinguishing the general socio-economic statuses of the people of Nakawa and Naguru is the monthly median wage of the household heads of each estate.[2] For Nakawa the median wage is Shs.164/- per month. For Naguru it is Shs.319/- For both estates taken together it is Shs.243/50. According to the government department of labour assessment, the median wage for employees in Greater Kampala is Shs.114/- (in 1961). In 1963 the legal minimum monthly wage payable in Kampala was increased from Shs.75/40 to Shs.120/-. My figures were collected before this increase and probably continue to have comparative value.

The differences in the range of occupations enjoyed by each estate's household heads also illustrate the general socio-economic contrast between the two estates.

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1 I was in fact co-opted onto this count by members of the Nakawa tenants' association, who needed the figures to present to the housing authorities in preparation for the allocation of free meat and drink to celebrate Uganda's independence.

2 I regard as household head the member of a household family or domestic unit who is responsible, among other things, for the payment of the rent. Such responsibility normally lies with the father of a nuclear or compound family, or with the senior "brother" of a household of siblings or friends. A small number of mostly Ganda and Toro women are household heads. They are unmarried or divorced, with or without children. A small number have "temporary" husbands, but the house is rented in their name and they continue to regard themselves as household head.

TABLE II (a) NAGURU ESTATE

Household Heads According to Tribe and Income Category

TRIBE	% of total household heads	MONTHLY INCOME RANGES Shs,- 100	125	150	175	200	300	400	500	600	700	1000-	Unknown	Actual No. of household heads
LUO	22.64	2	7	7	17	9	44	31	13	8	-	1	2	5	146
GANDA	19.84	1	1	1	8	4	24	30	16	14	5	12	7	5	128
LUHYA	10.54	1	7	2	7	2	18	10	6	7	3	4	-	1	68
TORO SOGA NYORO	8.37	-	-	-	6	2	10	18	7	2	1	3	2	3	23) 18) 54 13)
NUBI	7.59	-	-	4	1	2	14	8	8	4	2	2	-	4	49
ACHOLI	5.43	-	3	1	3	2	9	11	3	-	1	-	1	1	35
SAMIA/GWE	3.88	-	3	1	-	2	8	8	2	1	-	-	-	-	25
TESO	2.32	-	1	-	-	2	3	6	1	-	1	1	-	-	15
Others	19.38	-	7	8	5	6	29	28	15	7	5	8	2	7	125
TOTAL	99.99	4	29	24	47	31	159	150	71	43	18	31	14	24	645
Total %		0.62	4.50	3.72	7.29	4.81	24.65	23.25	11.01	6.67	2.79	4.81	2.17	3.72	100.01

TABLE II (b) NAKAWA ESTATE

Household Heads According to Tribe and Income Catcgory (including occupants of bedspaces)

TRIBE	% of total household heads	MONTHLY INCOME RANGES Shs.- 100	125	150	175	200	300	400	500	600	700 & over	Unknown	Actual No. of household heads
LUO	21.99	1	29	33	20	25	50	15	1	2	-	1	6	183
ACHOLI	13.11	9	30	23	9	8	17	9	2	1	-	-	-	108
LUHYA	9.60	4	18	14	14	9	14	4	-	-	-	-	2	79
LUGBARA	7.90	9	18	15	6	1	13	2	-	-	-	-	1	65
KIGA	7.41	3	36	3	5	4	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	61
SAMIA/GWE	4.98	2	8	5	5	11	6	2	-	-	-	-	2	41
GANDA	4.37	1	2	3	4	6	11	5	2	-	1	-	1	36
LANGO	4.01	2	5	3	3	3	15	1	1	-	-	-	-	33
TORO) NYORO) SOGA)	3.90	1	7	4	4	1	9	4	2	-	-	-	-	13) 13) 32 6)
RUANDA	3.77	3	6	6	5	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	31
NUBI	3.16	1	3	3	3	1	10	3	-	-	-	-	2	26
MADI	2.92	2	5	6	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	24
JONAM	2.92	1	3	6	4	1	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	24
TESO	2.92	-	2	1	3	2	8	6	1	1	-	-	-	24
ANKOLE	1.21	-	4	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	10
Others	5.59	2	10	5	4	5	14	3	1	1	1	-	-	46
TOTAL	99.76	41	186	131	95	86	187	61	10	6	2	1	17	823
Total in %		4.98	22.60	15.92	11.54	10.45	22.72	7.41	1.21	0.73	0.24	0.12	2.07	99.99

TABLE III (a) NAGURU ESTATE

Household Heads according to Tribe and Occupation

TRIBE	Occupation Categories 1	2	3	4	5	Unknown	TOTAL
LUO	1	52	60	21	9	3	146
GANDA	21(4f)	69(5f)	18(4f)	15(2f)	2	3	128
LUHYA	1	30	20	8	7	2	68
TORO)						23)	
SOGA)	2	41(4f)	9	2	-	- 18)	54
NYORO)						13)	
NUBI	1	24	7	16	1	-	49
ACHOLI	1	17	11	2	4	-	35
SAMIA/GWE	-	17	4	-	4	-	25
TESO	-	12(1f)	2	-	1	-	15
LANGO	-	6	5	2	-	-	13
LUGBARA	-	4	3	3	3	-	13
Others	10	55	19	9	3	3	99
TOTAL	37	327	158	78	34	11	645
Total in %	5.74	50.70	24.50	12.09	5.27	1.70	100.00

f = female household head.

Occupation Categories

1 = Professional, Technical and Highly Skilled

Lawyer
(Trainee) Accountant
Draughtsman
Surveyor
Teacher
Journalist
Clergy

2 = Clerical & Skilled, requiring use of English

Assistant Manager
Clerk
Agricultural Administration
Civil Service Administration
Welfare Worker
Printer
Telephonist
Salesman
Storekeeper
Steward - Barman
Postal & Tele. Engineer
Gov't & Co.Engineer
Radio Broadcasting & Programme Planning
Bus Company Inspector
Metre Reader

3 = Skilled not requiring use of English

Mechanic
Carpenter
Plumber
Electrician
WElder/Fitter/Joiner
Bricklayer
Tailor

4 = Semi-Skilled

Self-employed traders, shop-keepers, etc.
Driver
Machinist
Painter
Bus Conductor
Headman (of labouring gang)
Houseboy/girl / Cook.

5 = Unskilled

Office-boy/messenger
Askari/Watchman
Porter

TABLE III (b) NAKAWA ESTATE

Household Heads according to Tribe and Occupation

TRIBE	Occupation Categories 1	2	3	4	Unknown	TOTAL
LUO	21	76	56	30	-	183
ACHOLI	16	26	20	46	-	108
LUHYA	11	30	13	25	-	79
LUGBARA	6	19	21	19	-	65
KIGA	10	3	2	46	-	61
SAMIA/GWE	4	12	9	16	-	41
GANDA	12	12	10	2	-	36
LANGO	13	13	2	5	-	33
NYORO)						13)
TORO)	7	13	6	6	-	13)
SOGA)						6) 32
RUANDA	2	7	5	16	1	31
NUBI	3	8	12	3	-	26
MADI	1	7	5	11	-	24
JONAM	4	10	7	3	-	24
TESO	11	9	2	2	-	24
ANKOLE	2	1	4	3	-	10
Others	15	8	4	18	1	46
TOTAL	138	254	178	251	2	823
total in %	16.77	30.86	21.63	30.50	0.24	100.00

Occupation Categories

1 = Clerical & Skilled, requiring use of English

Clerk
Teacher
Draughtsman
Surveyor's assistant
Laboratory trainees
Librarian
Welfare Worker
Printer (Compositor)
Telephonist
Salesman
Storekeeper
Metre Reader
Barman

2 = Skilled not requiring use of English

Mechanic
Cappenter
Book-Binder
Plumber
Electrician
Tailor
Watch repairer/maker
Stores assistant
Welder/Fitter
Cable Jointer
Bricklayer
Shoemaker/repairer
Barber

3 = Semi-skilled

Self-employed (trader, shopkeeper)
Painter
Machinist
Tyre/Tube repairer
Bus Conductor
Driver
Houseboy/girl /Cook
Dobi (launderer)
Headman (of labouring gang
Nursing Orderly

4 = Unskilled

Office-boy/messenger
Turnboy
Askari/watchman
Porter
Kla. City Council cleaner/sweeper

In Tables II and III I illustrate these occupational differences, and those based on income, in conjunction with the distribution by tribe of the estate's household heads.

The immediate implications of these tables is the validation of part of Southall and Gutkind's hypothesis, "that the estates will in the long run cater principally for the non-Ganda whose skill and income is above the average level.....".

Ganda account for only 11% of all household heads on both estates, which, considering the Ganda are the local tribe, is probably low in comparision with the percentage of local tribes on housing estates in other African towns. Ganda have a reputation for white-collar work and, significantly, they are much more numerous in the higher status estate of Naguru than in Nakawa. In contrast, Southall and Gutkind's earlier findings indicated that the Ganda "appear at the estates in large numbers only among the most unskilled and transient group".[1]

The skills and incomes of the Naguru population are higher than those of Nakawa, but, combined and separately, the residents of both estates are above the Greater Kampala average in skill and income. At the same time, household heads fall into occupational categories ranging from unskilled and semi-skilled to more highly skilled, clerical and professional. This pronounced occupational heterogeneity is an important factor in defining patterns of relationships among residents.

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[1] Southall and Gutkind, op.cit., p.48.

Of those tribes heavily represented in both estates, the Luo, Luhya and Acholi figure most prominently. To a lesser degree, it is the Ganda, Samia, Nubi, Teso and Lango who are found in quite large numbers in both estates. By grouping them together, the Inter-lacustrine Toro, Soga, and Nyoro are also fairly numerous on both estates. But, like the Ganda, they are more numerous on the higher status estate of Naguru. More of them have skilled and clerical than unskilled occupations. No other tribal grouping constitutes as much as 2% of the households on each and both estates.

The Luo and Luhya show a wide span of occupations. This is partly a result of their large numbers, but is also prbbably derived from the generally longer and more extensive experience of urban work which Kenyans have had. It is the Kenyans who have provided the bulk of the artisans and, in the past especially, clerks. Additionally, many of them are unskilled workers. In common with other Nilotes, and with the Lugbara and Teso, the Kenyans are renowned for their large, muscular physiques which particularly qualify them for heavy unskilled labour. Most of the Uganda Bantu are generally of smaller physique and slighter stature. Those of them who are unskilled tend to be employed in jobs in which the work is lighter. Differences in diet seem to account for these differences in physique during the course of many generations.[1]

The Kiga, Lugbara, Madi, and Ruanda are mostly unskilled workers. Most of the live at Nakawa. The Kiga migrate in large

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[1] W. Elkan, op.cit, p.86-7.

numbers from Kigezi, their home district, either to do unskilled work in Kampala or to work in rural Buganda for Ganda landlords. Kigezi suffers from high population density and land shortage. Lugbara and Madi districts also have high population density and land shortage and many Lugbara and Madi are forced to migrate to Kampala and Buganda. Few Lugbara and Madi are in well paid jobs. So, in addition to their linguistic and cultural isolation, the Lugbara and Madi suffer a certain socio-economic isolation, in so far as few among them are represented in the higher occupational categories. Many Ruanda, almost all of them apparently Hutu, have come to Nakawa not directly from Ruanda but from Buganda, where they have worked for many years. Some are the children of earlier migrants and were born in the Province.

I have already indicated the linguistic, cultural and national categories into which the various tribespeople in Greater Kampala fall. These and the additional socio-economic categories just illustrated necessarily overlap. The people of Nakawa and Naguru are thus comprised within the heterogeneities of tribe, income, occupation, (and, by extension, education), language, culture, and national origin. But, picked out from these heterogeneities, people discern categories of interaction in situations of free association. Because the criteria on which these categories are based sometimes cross-cut, they provide some interesting situations as in the following instance, where membership of each category operates according to the "principle of situational selection"[1]

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[1] A.L. Epstein, 1958, op.cit., p.236.

I underline each significant reference category.

A Kisii (Kenya Bantu) commiserated with a semi-skilled Luo (Kenya Nilote) in Swahili about the discrimination in employment against Kenyans in Kampala. Together they blamed members of the local tribe, the Ganda, for this discrimination. Next day the Kisii went to the house of an influential Soga (Uganda Bantu), who had a temporary Ganda wife, to ask him in Luganda if he could get him a job as a messenger in the Post Office where he (the Soga) worked as a clerk. The Kisii stressed the fact that he was a Muntu (singular of Bantu) and urged the Soga to regard this as being more important than his not being a Ugandan.

Even within this extremely brief description of a course of action taken by one man, eleven different reference categories are indicated. Each reference category is of varying significance, depending on which best suits ego's purposes.

I have stated that Elkan estimates the average length of stay by migrants in Kampala at about two years. The table overleaf shows periods of residence for household heads on the estates alone. It does not account for the time they may have spent in Kampala and/or other towns as a whole. As I have stated, there is a waiting list of from two to three years for a house on the estates, and people have usually worked some time in Kampala before they apply. To the average length of residence on the estates, which is approximately four years[1], must be added about two to three years

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[1] In fact, it is greater than this, since many Naguru householders have previously lived at Nakawa. I have been unable to include in my table these extra periods of residence, which would have raised the average for both estates.

TABLE IV a) NAGURU ESTATE

Length of Residence (to nearest year)

TRIBE	Number of years 12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	less than 1 year	Unknown	Total No. Household Heads
LUO	1	2	4	4	2	6	9	8	28	27	26	20	5	4	146
GANDA	-	1	4	2	8	3	7	11	22	15	26	22	6	1	128
LUHYA	1	-	-	1	1	2	5	2	14	13	10	16	1	2	68
TORO SOGA NYORO	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	1	13	9	10	14	1	1	23) 18) 54 13)
NUBI	4	3	2	8	4	4	1	4	5	5	2	4	1	2	49
ACHOLI	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4	5	5	6	13	-	-	35
SAMIA/GWE	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	8	3	4	4	1	1	25
TESO	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	4	2	5	-	-	15
LANGO	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	6	1	-	-	13
LUGBARA	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	1	2	2	-	1	13
Others	-	1	3	3	1	3	6	5	16	17	13	22	6	3	99
TOTAL	8	7	14	18	19	20	36	35	121	102	107	123	21	14	645
Total in %	1.24	1.09	2.17	2.79	2.94	3.10	5.58	5.43	18.76	15.81	16.59	19.09	3.26	2.17	100.00

TABLE IV b) NAKAWA ESTATE

Length of Residence (to nearest year)

TRIBE	Number of years 12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	less than 1 year	Unknown	Total No. Household Heads
LUO	1	1	5	2	6	5	16	12	31	32	27	27	16	2	183
ACHOLI	-	-	1	1	11	4	12	5	20	16	14	19	5	-	108
LUHYA	-	-	-	2	1	2	5	5	19	19	11	12	1	2	79
LUGBARA	-	1	1	-	2	1	19	5	6	13	4	7	6	-	65
KIGA	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	6	38	4	3	61
SAMIA/GWE	-	1	3	1	1	1	-	1	13	5	4	6	4	1	41
GANDA	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	3	10	1	7	4	4	1	36
LANGO	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	7	5	2	8	4	-	33
TORO															13
NYORO	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	6	4	8	6	3	-	-	13
SOGA															6
															32
RUANDA	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	5	11	3	2	3	2	2	31
NUBI	-	-	2	1	1	1	1	2	8	3	5	2	-	-	26
MADI	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	3	7	3	2	4	1	-	24
JONAM	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	5	5	2	6	1	-	24
TESO	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	4	5	5	1	-	24
ANKOLE	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	4	1	-	10
Others	-	-	-	2	1	3	4	2	8	8	7	6	1	4	46
TOTAL	1	6	16	14	26	20	66	58	160	131	105	154	51	15	823
Total in %	0.12	0.73	1.94	1.70	3.16	2.43	8.02	7.05	19.44	15.92	12.76	18.71	6.20	1.82	100.00

residence in Kampala prior to moving to either of the estates. This gives six to seven years as a very approximate average of total length of residence in Kampala by people living on the estates.

However approximate this and Elkan's estimates are, the differences in average length of residence indicate that the migrants of the estates, and of Kampala East generally, are workers who, if not committed to an urban way of life, certainly have a better than average acquaintance with it. As distinct from the majority proportion of short-term target workers in the total Kampala labour force, the people of Kampala East figure among those who must closely approach the position of proletarians. But, even so, most of them do not regard urban employment as an exclusive subsistence source and continue to rely on the rural life, either for the immediate or more distant future.

In comparison with some other East African towns, and especially in comparison with many southern, central and western African towns, the average length of stay by migrants, either in Greater Kampala or even in Kampala East, appears slight. This major difference would be particularly important to anyone using length of urban residence as a criterion of urbanization. I must emphasise that my primary concern is not with urbanization, that is, with measuring the processes and criteria by which tribesmen become "urbanised".

I do not belittle the importance of studies concerned with problems of this kind. But, very simply, my concern is to study how people interact in town. I take as an important given fact that their length of urban residence, and, hence, the extent of

their acquaintance with urban institutions and norms, helps determine how people act. But, to utilise an arbitrary distinction, this thesis seeks to illustrate aspects of urbanism, the way of life in town, rather than urbanization, the processes leading to the integration of the individual into this way of life.[1] The special position of Kampala East's estates in respect of residents' higher than average length of residence is one important given fact in my concern with urbanism.

The figures relating to length of residence were taken in October, 1962. My fieldwork ended in March, 1964, shortly before when I collected the figures a second time. In this way I was able to test the stability of the estates' populations over the intervening period. General stability is, of course, a characteristic of the estates' populations. By March, 1964, only 141 household heads, less than 10%, had moved away from both Nakawa and Naguru. This figure does not include the number of household heads who moved from Nakawa to Naguru. It includes some who moved to such higher status residential areas as Ntinda or Kololo. Even without accounting for the number of household heads who moved to, say, Ntinda, Katali, or Kiswa, the figure indicates that relatively few of them, out of a combined total of 1,468 for Nakawa and Naguru, left Kampala East in the period of nearly seventeen months. Stated differently, the present rate of defection from both Nakawa and Naguru is only about one person in ten every seventeen months.

There are some interesting correlations of tribe and length of residence in Table IV. I have stated that proportionally large

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[1] Ralph Beals, 1951, Urbanism, Urbanization and Acculturation, American Anthropologist.

numbers of Lugbara and Kiga are unskilled and semi-skilled. In Greater Kampala, also, these tribespeople are mostly of these occupational categories. The Kiga are mostly short-term migrants. This is reflected in that 42 of the 61 household heads at Nakawa have resided on the estate for no more than a year. Conversely, 35 of the 65 Lugbara at Nakawa, over a half, have been on the estate four years or more. Similarly, 14 of the 24 Madi, who are closely related to the Lugbara, have been there this long. Neither Kiga, Lugbara nor Madi are particularly numerous at Naguru.

The Kiga and Lugbara provide an interesting comparison. Both tend to be mostly unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Both suffer from land shortage at home and are consequently forced to migrate in relatively large numbers. Whereas the Kiga at Nakawa mostly reflect their fellowtribesmen in Greater Kampala in being short-term migrants as well as unskilled, the Lugbara at Nakawa are long-term migrants, longer, indeed, than most other tribespeople in Kampala East. In contrast to most Kiga, who are without their families and occupy the bedspaces, the Lugbara have brought their families with them. The Lugbara at Nakawa recognise their difference from the bulk of their fellowtribesmen in Greater Kampala. They attribute their longer residence and more permanent urban interests to the fact that land at home is so scarce that they have already lost effective land rights. Or, they say they find it more profitable to eek out a meagre urban living than an even more meagre rural one. Though mostly unskilled and semi-skilled and lowly paid, they are slightly above the average in these regards for their tribe in Greater Kampala, as well as being above the average in length of

urban residence. Middleton, from the rural end of Lugbara migrancy, reports a certain estrangement between "traditional" Lugbara and the New People (Baodiru).[1] I assume that the difference expressed about themselves by Nakawa and Greater Kampala Lugbara is a partial reflection of this estrangement.

For each of the other major tribes and tribal groupings at Nakawa, the proportion of household heads who have resided on the estate four years or more varies from a little below to a little above a half.

For most of the tribes at Naguru, generally over a half of the respective household heads have resided less than four years. This reflects the lower median length of residence by household heads at Naguru, against which it must be remembered that a substantial proportion of Naguru householders stem from Nakawa.

Their periods of residence at Nakawa are not included in my figures, nor is the time they will have spent prior to moving to Nakawa, waiting for a house to be allocated. Thus, some Naguru householders have been in Kampala East much longer than my figures suggest.

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[1] J.F. Middleton, 1960, Social Change among the Lugbara of Uganda, Civilisations, Vol.X, No.4, Antwerp.

TABLE V

Marital Status

TRIBE	Unmarried	Married No children	Married with Children	Total No. Household Heads
NAGURU ESTATE				
LUO	19	11	116 (2*)	146
GANDA	50(15f,6+c)	13	65	128
LUHYA	10	7	51	68
TORO)				23)
SOGA)	17 (4f)	7	30	18) 54
NYORO)				13)
NUBI	7	2	40 (2*)	49
ACHOLI	8	4	23	35
SAMIA/GWE	6	2	17	25
TESO	5 (1f)	-	10	15
LANGO	2	3	8	13
LUGBARA	1	3	9	13
Others	29	9	61	99
TOTAL	154	61	430	645
Total %	23.87	9.46	66.67	99.90
NAKAWA ESTATE				
LUO	22	16	145 (4*)	183
ACHOLI	15 (1f)	10	83 (2*)	108
LUHYA	6	10	63	79
LUGBARA	9	8	48	65
KIGA	45	4	12	61
SAMIA/GWE	5	3	33	41
GANDA	7 (3f+c)	6	23 (1f)	36
LANGO	4	4	25	33
NYORO)				13)
TORO)	6	5	21	13) 32
SOGA)				6)
RUANDA	7	4	20	31
NUBI	3	1	22 (1*)	26
MADI	2	3	19	24
JONAM	5	1	18	24
TESO	5	3	16	24
ANKOLE	4	2	4	10
Others	12	7	27	46
TOTAL	157	87	579	823
Total %	19.71	10.57	70.35	100.63

Key: * = with 2 or more wives
f = female household head
+c = with children.

Naguru has a proportionally larger number of unmarried household heads than Nakawa. This is at first sight surprising in view of the larger houses and better amenities existing at Naguru. The explanation is that many high status Ganda, in particular, including women, have not yet contracted what they regard as legal, customary, or "permanent" marriage. They are able to afford the more expensive Naguru houses by dint of their generally higher occupational standings. Many migrants whose need for larger housing is much greater may simply be unable to afford the higher rents at Naguru. So, lacking other applicants, it is those high status but unmarried Ganda, and persons of other tribes also, who obtain some of the Naguru houses. In practice, there is no favouritism or graft at work in this allocation of houses at Naguru. But the sight of relatively empty larger Naguru houses embitters many Nakawa tenants with large families, and serves even more to set apart Nakawa and Naguru residents.

Immediately impressive are the high proportions on both estates of Nilotes, Luhya, Samia, and Lugbara, who are married, mostly with children.

The Kiga, as short-term migrants, are mostly unmarried. Many of them have migrated for the very purpose of acquiring enough cash for bridewealth.

Greater proportions of the Ganda, Toro, Soga, and Nyoro, especially at Naguru, are unmarried, or are married without children. In the following chapter I shall give a smaller sample of residents according to marital status. The breakdown will illustrate that the distinction between "permanent" and "temporary" spouses particularly applies to these four tribes and makes any clear assessment of their

marital status difficult. It is not only in degree but also in kind that marital status among these tribes differs from that of the Nilotes, Kenya Bantu and Lugbara. A feature of these latter tribes, which is not generally shared by the former, is the regular tendency to send wives to the rural home twice a year for spells of about three months during digging and planting, and harvesting times. The Interlacustrine Bantu women, especially those of Kampala East, but also of Greater Kampala generally, characteristically refuse to do this. Indeed, even when they are married according to civil law or custom, their husbands commonly do not even ask or expect them to return periodically to the rural home. It is possible to generalise and say that many Interlacustrine Bantu women have successfully rebelled against the rural expectations of the woman's role, while the other tribeswomen mentioned above, including also the Kiga, have not even voiced rebellion.

The total number of household heads at both Nakawa and Naguru is 1,468. 1,157 of them, or 79%, are married. 1,009, or 87%, of these married persons have children. This general approximation in numbers of men and wives stands in contrast to the less balanced male/female ratio in Greater Kampala. This is yet another factor marking off the estates, and Kampala East in general, from most of the rest of Greater Kampala.

In an urban area in which most men are married and have their wives with them, it is inevitable that the general patterns of relationships established depend in large part on developments and changes in conjugal relations. This fact is highly significant in my thesis.

Other significant facts are those relating to residence in nearby city housing estates, including the bases on which houses are allocated and the nature of local groups, those regarding tribal membership, and, finally, those deriving from differences in occupational status.

In my description of Nakawa and Naguru, in the city ward of Kampala East, and in my quantitative assessment of their household heads, I have incorporated the illustration of these facts. In following chapters I analyse each of them more fully.

I now illustrate how I obtained the data I have prsented so far.

f) Fieldwork Techniques

I began fieldwork in July, 1962, and completed it in March, 1964, with a month's break in October, 1963, spending altogether about nineteen months in the field.

As well as showing how I obtained my data and insights, I hope the following may serve as a minor contribution to the development of fieldwork methods in African urban areas.

My method of investigation was that of participative observation.

In addition, I have used figures to give general pictures of Greater Kampala, the city, and, particularly, the two housing estates in Kampala East. I have also used them to back up certain generalisations based on empirical impressions.

I did not collect the figures relating to the housing estates by means of a door-to-door extensive survey. For a single

anthropologist to visit 1,468 households in this way would have been a formidable, highly time-consuming, and probably impossible task. I was, of course, directly responsible for the collection of qualitative data, including the recording of observed and recounted events, diaries, and life histories. But, with regard to the more obviously quantitative data, such as the collection of a wide sample of figures , the limited time and resources available for fieldwork force the anthropologist either to rely partially on paid assistants or, if this is not possible, on what documentary evidence is available.

For my quantitative data relating to the 100% sample of household heads, I resorted to the latter by investigating what are called the personal record cards of each household head on an estate. These cards are kept by the estate manager. When an applicant accepts an offer of a house, he is asked to provide certain personal details which are then filled in on his card. I have collated and assembled these details in the above tables.

Because a household head or member of his family is required to pay the rent every month to the estate manager in person, the latter gains sometimes intimate knowledge of the tenants and their families under his nominal jurisdiction. He does, it may be remembered, actually live on the estate among the tenants. Occasionally, there are instances of "illegal" tenancy, as when an acknowledged tenant turns his house over to a friend or relative and leaves the estate without notifying the manager. The manager, with or without the aid of his assistants, is usually able to detect the illegal nature of the new tenancy. He may be suspicious of the

of the appearance of a total stranger paying the montly rent, and of the man or child's seeming ignorance of the legal tenant's family. He does not normally need to resort to more surreptitious investigations, though he is able to do so through his assistants, who also live on the estate. Like the headmaster of a large school who manages to gain a close knowledge of his pupils, the estate manager comes to know personally and in sometimes surprisingly great detail the tenants, their families, and their backgrounds.

With their full agreement, therefore, I was able to use the two estate managers' relatively intimate knowledge and ask them to confirm or bring up to date the facts as given on tenants' personal record cards. In other cases, I checked on the facts myself. This system was certainly not planned as such but was developed simply because it seemed better to have some figures of a 100% sample than to rely solely on a much smaller sample. Clearly, the system has many deficiencies and in some cases the figures were not up to date, though, on the whole, I would claim that they were largely correct at the time of their collection and compilation which extended over August, September and October, 1962, at the same time as more intensive analysis. Provided they give a general picture, these figures will have served their purpose.

Other figures which are included in the following chapters are based on smaller samples. I use them to support certain generalisations based on empirical impressions. They, too, were gained not by door-to-door surveys but through intensive, open-ended, informal discussion, only after relatively well established rapports had been established with informants.

I may illustrate my fieldwork techniques and difficulties by describing the stages through which I worked.

Having decided on the two housing estates of Nakawa and Naguru as my specific fields of study, I set out to discover the possibilities of permanent residence on the estates. My original plan was to split my time evenly between Nakawa and Naguru. A high ranking government housing officer then pointed out to me the fact that the long waiting list of two to three years would prevent my hoping to rent a house in the normal manner. I would have to receive privileged treatment and jump the queue. Apart from the social injustice of such an action, it is doubtful whether it would have been fair to expect the housing authorities to engineer matters with the respective estate managers on my behalf. But I decided that the crucial factor against my attempting to rent a house was the advice given me by some widely respected tenants who were acknowledged as local "leaders" by the tenants generally. The advice was very sound and pointed out that, apart from themselves, I was an unknown quantity to the population. It would have been obvious that I had been given special treatment if I rented a house. Such prejudices could have made my introduction to the local community disastrous. Instead, the leaders suggested, it would be better for myself and my wife to participate in as many of the recreational activities as possible, making friends, being invited to their homes, also to their rural homes, without worrying too much at this stage about building up data around my problem. It was necessary to commute daily from the East African Institute of Social Research to the estates in Kampala East, five or six miles away.

So, for the initial six months of the study, apart from the collection of the above figures, we spoke at debates, went to dances, community shows, beer-parties, bottle- and "African" beer bars, football matches, attended or helped run clubs and societies, and became de facto tenants, on several occasions being called upon to speak at tenants' association meetings on behalf of the tenants and rather against the authorities.

Inevitably, special friends emerged. One of these literally gave us complete and absolute open house. We regarded, and others came to regard, this house, which is situated in Upper Nakawa, as our central base.

One is in danger at this stage of, firstly, becoming associated too closely with one tribal and one local or neighbourhood grouping. I tended to become too closely associated with the Luo and with Upper Nakawa to the exclusion of other tribal groupings and Lower Nakawa and Naguru. It was necessary to extricate myself carefully from some groups and relationships in which I had become deeply involved and to ramify my ties more substantially to other tribal and local groupings. The second related danger is that of developing empathy within one's relationships and of tending to lose one's powers of objectivity. In situations of conflict I found myself tending to support "my" side, or the side seemingly closest to me. I was once obliged to favour a friend by acting as his checking agent when he was a candidate at the city council elections and, beforehand, of helping him campaign. This could have coloured my analysis of the organisation surrounding competing candidates, but I believe I was aware of the danger at the time and aspired to be objective.

I then began to structure my observation of facts and incidents according to developing lines of analysis. I had come to know some two hundred households on anything from very close to casual terms. I was impressed by the existence of separate but overlapping tribal, local and socio-economic categories and focused my attention on about forty households distributed throughout these categories. It was from some of these households that I obtained my smaller sample of quantitative data.

But it was qualitative data which were my main interest. I established close relationships with these forty households. Relationships within some households, or with members of them, were much closer than with others. It is events within or concerning these forty households which provide the bulk of my cases and other data.

I had received a thorough training in Swahili at the same time as I received my instruction in anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies. This training extended over three years. My "standard" Swahili had to be adapted to the Kampala East dialect but this provided very few difficulties. It became useful during the course of fieldwork to learn some DhoLuo to a very elementary standard, and to learn Luganda to an even more elementary standard. More than anything, the value in having a rudimentary knowledge of DhoLuo and Luganda, in addition to a more or less fluent knowledge of Swahili, was to indicate my willingness to become ingratiated into the company of Nilotes and Uganda Bantu who form parts of two main "communities". Swahili and English were, of course,

the languages spoken most widely, but, in some cases, the specific use of either DhoLuo or Luganda, not just with Luo or Ganda, made the initial establishing of a rapport much easier.

g) The Problem and Concepts Used.

Very simply, my problem is to understand some aspects of the system of social stratification and processes of mobility open to the residents of Nakawa and Naguru. I regard as highly significant the fact that these two estates occupy a special position in Kampala by constituting the basis of the city ward of Kampala East. It is not the macroscopic picture of systems of stratification and mobility which I seek to understand. I am more interested in how persons in specific situations and relationships are affected by changes in their status or in the status of those with whom they normally interact. My assumption is that such systems "... can only be discovered by a study at the level of small groups, neighbourhoods and close networks of social relationships".[1] This approach is by no means new, yet it has to be restated as such in defiance of any tendency to generalise about life in African towns, or any complex society for that matter.

I suggest that by understanding the overall urban status system, such terms as individual urban "adaptation" and "integration" become more meaningful. If persons are involved in an overall urban status

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[1] A.W. Southall (ed.), 1961, Social Change in Modern Africa, O.U.P. for I.A.I., p.1.

system, then presumably they have come to accept some of the norms of the particular urban society. This acceptance of norms defines their adaptation and integration. The more involved they are in the overall status system, the more they accept the peculiarly urban norms, and the more they may be said to be adapted and integrated into the particular urban society. Putting it even more strongly, I contend that any such problems as adaptation, integration, or even urbanization, and the now disreputed detribalisation, can only be studied in full ultimately by reference to the prevailing urban status systems; and that these systems must be studied in their local and sectional as well as wider scale contexts.

I now define certain concepts or terms which I use in my thesis.

At the most elementary level of abstraction there would seem to be only two basic determinants of social alignment. They may be studied from various angles and in various human disciplines. They are, firstly, the affiliations of family, kin, and tribe or ethnic group, and, secondly, the ties brought about through residence in a common area. In my study I refer to each of these as the tribal and local orders. Accepting that they are of a "primordial" rather than "civil" nature[1], I call them primary orders.

In relatively complex societies the nuclear family and small kin group provide the usual context for the first cluster of affiliations. In less complex and technologically underdeveloped societies the wider kin group and, in plural social situations, the

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[1] E. Shils, Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties, British Journal of Sociology, Vol.8, 1957.

whole tribe, provide additional significant contexts. Among the urban migrants of Kampala, kinsmen and fellow tribesmen merge as one basic reference category. At the same time, the traditional internal differentiation of some tribes is reflected in a like urban differentiation of its members. A tribe's urban populace may then be said to be divided into sub-groups.

Local groups are not necessarily co-incident with kin, tribal or ethnic groups. In the technologically underdeveloped and usually rural societies commonly studied by anthropologists this coincidence is often marked, though not always entire. In technologically advanced societies this coincidence either does not exist or is slight and constantly liable to separation.[1] Among Kampala's urban migrants, population movement, relative scarcity of accommodation, and the co-existence of different tribal groups discourage any coincidence of kin and local groups, even though there may be this general coincidence in the particular tribe's rural homeland. Indeed, urban local groups may emerge in which persons resident in a specific and demarcated residential area have assumed some degree of corporate identity regardless of their tribal origins. This is the case for those urban areas, such as the housing estates in Kampala East, whose administration inhibits the development of local tribal clusters, and whose allocation of dwellings is based on criteria other than tribal membership. Persons so constituted may come to regard themselves as members of residential groups and categories, as well as those of tribe.

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[1] E. Bott, 1957, The Family and Social Network, Tavistock Publications, London.

In urban society, or in the situational contexts of an urban, metropolitan or quasi-national complex, a third less basic and less coherent set of social alignments becomes effective. These alignments are made through affiliations of what I call a civic order. The affiliations include observances of the urban or national written legal code, including all forms of "official" administration, observances of the demands of workplace and the occupational structure, and interest or participation in supratribal political and quasi-political bodies. Occasionally, as among the politically complex Ganda, the civic affiliations overlap considerably with the tribal and even kinship affiliations. But even the Ganda are no longer a purely autonomous tribal state and, in the relatively neutral zone of Kampala city especially, the civic order of law, administration and workplace is for the most part distinct from the Ganda tribal order.

Both Epstein's and Banton's major studies[1] indicate to me the ways in which affiliations of the tribal and kinship order are adapted to an urban civic order. I attempt to show, in addition, how affiliations based on common residence are integrated with and adapted to the civic order, and how they contribute towards it.

Especially, it seems to me, the two primary orders of kinship/tribe and common residence are always "compromising" with the civic order. It is "pieces" or "parts" of these two primary orders which are received by an ever-widening growth of civic affiliations. The civic order never gives. It just receives. I state this

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[1] A.L. Epstein, 1958, Politics in an Urban African Community, M.U.P. for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

M.P. Banton, 1957, West African City, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

metaphorically though unscientifically to illustrate a general picture of contingent yet relatively independent orders.

None of this is to say that the three orders are not conceptually nor situationally isolatable. Both in my description and in behavioural fact they are. I attempt to prove their relatively independent natures in describing the two primary orders in the following four chapters. Then, in the following chapters (Ch.V &), I show the way in which people try to integrate them into the somewhat diffuse civic order. They do this by formalising certain activities which are specific to the cluster of affiliations within an order. They establish voluntary associations, with leaders, titled offices, constitutions, and declarations of aims. Inadvertently and usually unconsciously, policies of exclusion regarding membership develop. Differentiation, often of a segmentary type, then occurs in the associations. The policies of exclusion, and the segmentation and other differentiation of the associations are invariably based on socio-economic grounds, though they may be expressed through the internally differentiated natures of the two primary orders. A typical example is of a clan association consisting of poor men, while the full tribal association consists of wealthier men, drawing its leaders and members from all clans of the tribe. Another example is of residents of the lower status housing estate establishing associations specific to the estate and differentiating them from the associations established by residents of the higher status estate. This is what I meant by "pieces of parts" of these two primary orders being received by the civic, since socio-economic affiliations are essentially of this latter order.

Thus far, through what may be termed "structural" analysis, I describe the internal differentiation of the two primary orders, the ways they are organised formally and so contribute to the diffuse civic order, and how the latter may be defined.

But there are pieces or parts of the primary orders which are not accounted for in this analysis of organised adaptation and integration. For example, though clans in some tribes may receive formal expression through the establishment of a clan association, the fact that clansmen are also family men, neighbours, or workplace associates escapes coherent and linked analysis. In some tribes, clans receive no such formal expression but remain diffuse, non-corporate entities whose members are dispersed, so that a whole sector of an urban tribal populace is left undescribed. Similarly, residents of a common local area are divisible into leaders, the led, and the indifferent. The latter especially escape analysis, and the former are only described in their leadership and membership contexts. In spite of the frequent interest shown in them, formal voluntary associations constitute only a small part of African urban life.

I therefore find it necessary to progress to a deeper level of analysis by observing the ways in which persons move or do not move through statuses based variously according to the internal differentiation of each order. This is done by analysing persons' status-sequences[1] and the sets of role-relationships[2] in which any one such sequence involves them.

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[1] R.K. Merton, 1957, Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, Glencoe, Chicago.

[2] A.W. Southall, 1959, An Operational Theory of Role, Human Relations.

This is to say that each urban order is internally differentiated by major demarcations of formal organisation. The basis of this organised differentiation is the socio-economic differentiation of persons. Thus, each order is seen as hierarchical or stratified. But for the urban tribal order this is so for segmentary tribespeople only, and not for centralised tribespeople. The reason for the difference between tribes at first sight rests on the major distinction in their traditional tribal structures. For the local and civic orders the stratification or formally organised activity applies with increasingly less distinction to all tribespeople.

In describing these orders and their lines of differentiation and stratification, I am really describing independent structures or sub-structures. "Structure" must surely now be regarded as a concept referring to a relative level of abstraction. Nadel has considered the problems in defining social structure.[1] His definition emphasises the relational aspect of persons rather than the positions they occupy in a static status system. He appears to follow Parsons in this relational emphasis. I use the word "order" in preference to "structure" merely to avoid the many different connotations and ambiguities of the latter.

The orders I describe are structures of a low level of abstraction. That is to say, they refer to groups, collectivities and categories which may usually be divided into sub-groups, all of which "are made up of people in determinate, stable relationships".[2]

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[1] S.F. Nadel, 1957, The Theory of Social Structure, Cohen and West.

[2] Nadel, op.cit., p.13

Thus, certain of the relationships in which any individual is involved are conditioned wholly or partly by his membership of a group or category or division of one of these. This is especially the case when activities are formalised through, for example, the establishing of voluntary associations. But many relationships in which the individual is set are not immediately referable to a group or category of which he is a member. This is especially the case for persons whose tribespeople do not formalise their urban co-activity through establishing voluntary associations or for persons who are indifferent to or excluded from membership in any association, whether tribal, local or civic. The civic order especially, I have stated, is not generally divisible into corporate, common-interest groups. Much more than the two primary orders it is characterised by single-interest relationships[1] between individuals in categories. The two primary orders, especially that of kinship/tribe, are characterised by a larger proportion of multi-purposive relationships between individuals in groups.

An intensive look at the orders through role-analysis accommodates deficiencies in this general structural analysis. It shows how an individual's role-relationships are indeed bounded for much of their content within a group or category within an order, but shows how they are interrelated with any of his other role-relationships within a separate order. Persons may be differentiated from each other by assessing whether a concentration of role-relationships within one order affects the nature and content of their

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[1] The term "single-interest relationship" is taken from F.G. Bailey, 1964, Politics and Social Change, University of California Press.

relationships within other orders, and how they are so affected.

Some studies in "network analysis" have shown the differential effect role-relationships may have on each other. Bott has shown that differences in connectedness in conjugal role-relationships are determined by differences between couples in their networks of occupational and leisure-time relationships.[1] Barnes shows how distinctive networks of economic and occupational relationships define status or class affiliations.[2] My concept of order or structure is similar to the latter's concept of "social field", though I am interested in showing, firstly, how such orders are internally differentiated into groups and categories, secondly, how these differentiations affect the channelling-out of role-relationships by selected persons, and, thirdly, the distinctive networks that emerge.

Networks are ego-centred and do not normally coincide with groups, though occasionally they may do so. But, in most cases, the members of an ego's network belong to more than one group. And so does ego. Role and network analysis allow us to follow an ego's relationships without specific reference to any particular group. At the same time, in following these relationships, the significance of group membership, either for ego himself or for his partners, will be noticed where it exists.

Groups are corporate, though the degree of corporateness varies. Common membership is acknowledged and members of a group exhibit

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[1] E. Bott, op.cit.

[2] J.A. Barnes, 1954, Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish, Human Relations, Vol.7, No.2.

consensus of norms. Ideally, they acknowledge each other's rights and duties. Except in so far as it is usually headed by a leader, a group does not depend for its existence on an ego. If a person leaves the group, he may be replaced by another person and the group continues unchanged in structure. Since a network is centred around an ego, it is dependent for its existence on that ego. The network ceases to exist once ego is removed. In practice, of course, members of a close-knit network may still interact even after the removal of ego. But, whether or not they form a group, their respective networks are distinct both from each other and from that of the original ego.

The distinction between group and network is, of course, analytical. But, empirically, we can discern the existence of a group by the coming-together of its members, and their more or less concerted action. Networks are less easy to discern empirically, especially when they are loose-knit. Moreover, over a single issue members of a group may be mobilised as a network when, as I illustrate in the next chapter, they have a common interest in rallying round one of their fellows. One may go so far as to claim that a group is always potentially a network since it can always be mobilised around an ego, but a network is not a group, since there is no corporate action by its constituent members nor is there necessarily consensus of norms. Networks may, of course, become groups. This may happen if the constituent members of ego's network come together, either by chance or through ego's instigation, establish a common interest, and then agree to associate with each other more or less regularly in defence of this and any ensuing common interests.

Implicit in these distinctions between group and network is the fact that the latter is unbounded while the ofrmer has a boundary. Because a group has a corporate identity it defines its methods of recruitment and membership qualifications. This is what Bott calls the "organized group" as distinct from "categories, logical classes and aggregates". "In an organized group, the component individuals make up a larger social whole with common aims, interdependent roles, and a distinctive sub-culture. In network formation, on the other hand, only some, not all, of the component individuals have social relationships with one another".[1] The group is thus bounded as to its personnel, aims, and organisation. But, at ego's invitation, any person may join a network without the knowledge of its other members, who do not consciously share common aims nor regard themselves as organised. It is in these senses that the network has no "common boundary". I need hardly add that I do not regard group and network as conceptually and empirically mutually exclusive.

Networks and groups each have probably an almost infinite number of respective properties.[2] The analysis and enumeration of these properties, and the theoretical relationship of the network andgroup concepts provide possible problems for extensive study. In regard to the latter, for instance, a simple hypothesis is that in small-scale societies more of a person's relationships derive their normative content from groups rather than networks, whereas

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[1] E. Bott, op.cit, p.58, footnote.

[2] Merton, op.cit., p.310, for a discussion of some group properties.

the situation becomes reversed in more complex societies. But I do not consider these other possible problems. I merely find the analytical distinction between groups and networks, as I have defined them, useful in my present analysis.

In this thesis, I attempt to show that the urban kin, tribal and local groups to which segmentary tribesmen in Kampala East belong, tend to exhibit greater solidarity and impose greater obligations on the individual than the urban kin, tribal and local groups to which centralised tribesmen belong. I illustrate this by analysing formal voluntary associations and their leaders. I then go on to argue that these associations and leaders represent, almost symbolically, the same overlapping groups so constituted as to delineate systems of stratification and mobility. Though there may be no direct interaction between leaders and non-leaders, including non-members, I suggest that the bases on which they each establish their progressive adquisition of higher status and greater prestige are similar in many respects. They both may only pass up into and through groups by manipulating successively and successfully their positions in more prestigeful networks of relationships. Thus, in a sense, networks link structurally opposed groups. More multiple performance of role-relationships within networks is required by segmentary than centralised tribesmen.

P A R T T W O

CHAPTER II

URBAN GROUP FORMATION WITHIN THE TRIBAL ORDER

In this chapter I describe the nature of urban kin and tribal groups and illustrate how they may vary among segmentary and centralised tribespeople.

I outline differences and similarities in rural tribal structures and show how they affect the formations of groups in a general urban context. Because of these rural and general urban references, the area and people of Naguru and Nakawa are mentioned less in this than in other chapters, though all cases cited are of residents of the estates. I shall show that these general references are necessary before I begin analysing the functioning of kin, tribal and other groups in the more specific local context of Kampala East.

I make no prior assumptions that such groups exist. But I may safely assume that any urban migrant is the ego of a general network of social relations located in both town and country. To show that such groups exist, therefore, I describe a case which is centred around an ego. In describing the case I shall also be describing a network of relations. In analysing this network I make other safe assumptions: that a close-knit network may approach the nature of a group, or quasi-group[1]; and that a loose-knit network

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[1] A.C. Mayer, 1963, The Significance of Quasi-groups in the Study of Politics, unpublished seminar paper, S.O.A.S., University of London. A quasi-group is a network which is activated by an ego for a specific purpose and on a specific occasion. Its constituent members act more or less collectively on that one occasion, which, in the paper cited, is a municipal election. They do not normally

is much less likely to become or be mobilised as a group.

a) The Initial Case

A characteristic feature of the migrant labour force of any African town is the process whereby new migrants come to the town at the suggestion or through the help of close kinsmen, affines, clansmen or fellow-villagers. The newcomers receive food and lodging, and, in turn perform the host's domestic chores. The dependence of the newcomer on his host is reflected in these reciprocal rights and duties.

For those migrants who do not stay long in town, the rights and duties will persist and the relationship between the "brothers" is not likely to change.

There are those migrants, however, who stay for longer periods in town and who, during their period of urban residence, marry and bring their wives and children to live with them. It is such migrants who are characteristically residents of Naguru and Nakawa.

The sheer fact of longer urban residence means that each dependent newcomer, while lodging with his kinsman host, has more time in which to evaluate himself according to the typically urban criteria of prestige. In Kampala, some of these criteria appear to be individual economic and social independence, the quantity and quality of material goods acquired, the capacity for leadership, and educational standing.

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nor regularly act collectively and may only be so invoked by the ego, who must have appropriate sanctions or powers. In Mayer's paper, the ego is a patron and the members of the quasi-group are linked to him through various client relationships.

Again, it is characteristically residents of Naguru and Nakawa who are likely to make positive self-evaluations according to these criteria. They are of longer than average urban residence and have a stake in understanding and subscribing to norms of urban living.

A dependent, in a quest for this urban prestige, may move from this initial state of dependence on his kinsman to a state of relative individual independence.

This movement is both physical and social. It is physical in that the former dependent must find alternative accommodation. He either rents a house in his own name, or lodges with an unrelated tribesman, often someone whom he has met through his occupation. Since a man must wait at least two years for a house at Naguru or Nakawa, he usually does lodge with someone, either in the suburbs or in Kampala East.

The movement is also social. It is preceded by self-evaluation on the part of the reluctant dependent, who will choose accommodation and a neighbourhood which he believes is in keeping with his socio-economic status. He recognises that the sanctions of opinion in the neighbourhood unit are strong and that a poor man living in a rich neighbourhood can have as uncomfortable a time as the rich man living in a poor neighbourhood.

During the time that the migrant spends in town before and aftern the movement, he progressively widens his range of associates. In the alien environment of a town like Kampala, in, for most migrants, a foreign tribal district, those associates who are in any way related to him become particularly significant as members of a field

of interaction. He will already have known some of these associates at home. With them he will share a locality of origin and the social, ideological, and affective commitments that go with this.

Other associates or acquaintances may be of the same tribe but unrelated. They may also be of a different tribe. Such acquaintanceships may be born out of occupational or neighbourhood relationships in the town. Except for those who are members of the same tribe, the migrant will not share ties of common local origin with these associates. The closest rural local ties are characteristically those between kinsmen. It is useful to distinguish analytically the kinship aspects of the urban network.

Some migrants have a large number of relatives in the town. Others may have very few. The extensiveness of any man's urban kin network is of course determined by the number of relatives he has in town. But the extensiveness of a migrant's network is a different thing from its effectiveness,[1] i.e. its acting collectively with a common objective, or as a common need arises. It is when a network more or less regularly takes on these qualities that it may be regarded as having assumed group properties. Such effectiveness of an urban kin network seems very much related to the nature of the tribal society from which members of the network come. Where members are strongly united by common interests at home, there are more occasions on which they are likely to act collectively in the town, often in defence of these same common interests. Conversely,

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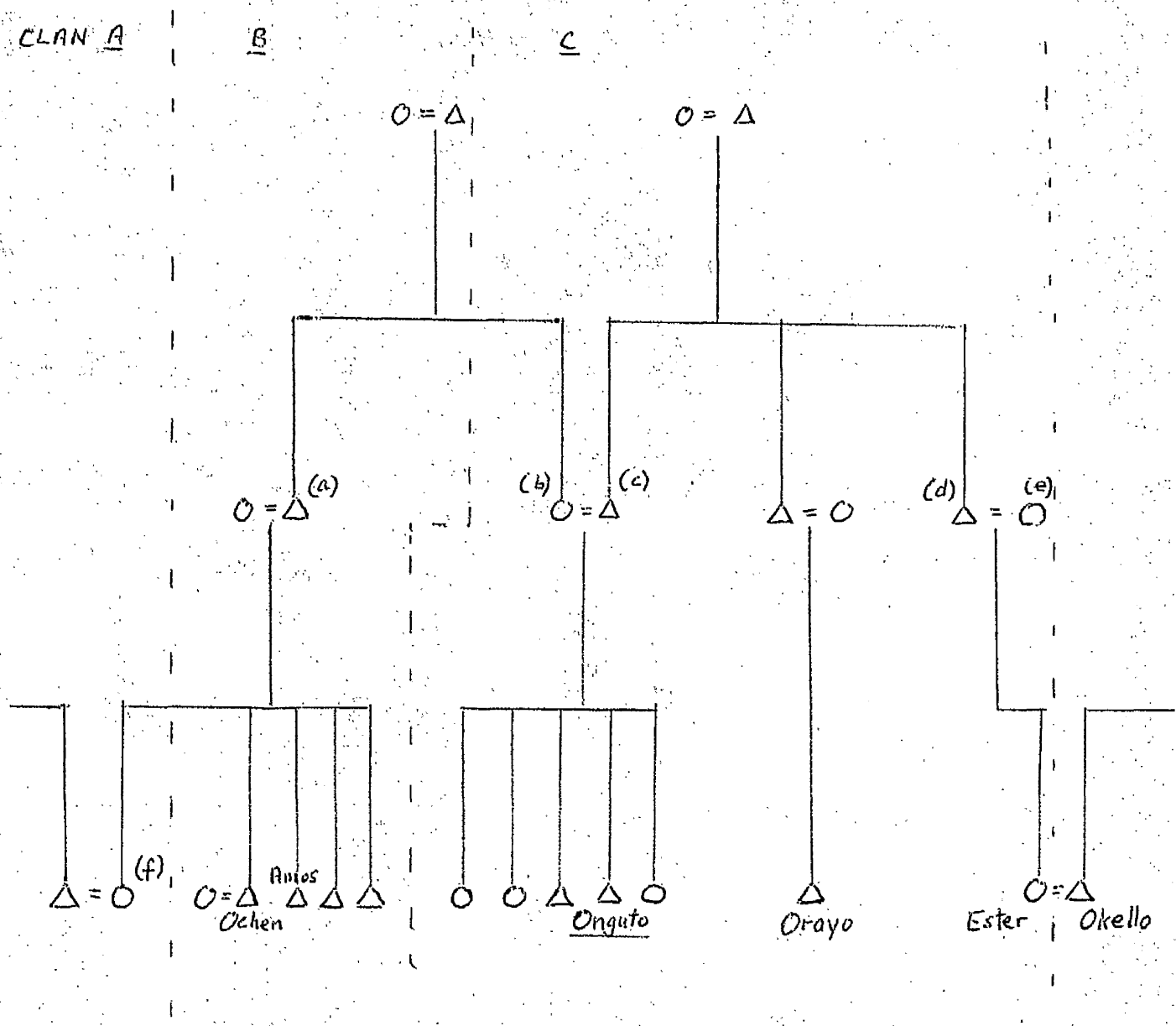
[1] A.L. Epstein, 1961, op.cit., in which he distinguishes the extended and effective networks.

the absence or lesser significance of these rural common interests diminishes the likelihood of urban collective action among the same people.

The following case-study shows how ego, a Luo called Onguto, acquires the urban individual independence discussed above, and how, at the same time, his activities become both prescribed and circumscribed by his kinship network, or at least by sectors of it. This prescription and circumscription of activity provides the boundaries defining the kin and additional groups.

DIAGRAM



Ochen's sister (a), as the eldest girl of the family, was the first to be married. She was also the first, by virtue of her marriage, to leave the Luo homestead and go to town. Her husband, of Clan A, chose to go to Kampala and, after some time in a suburb, rented a Shs.17/- house at Nakawa. This was in 1955. In 1956 Ochen, through correspondence, arranged to lodge with this brother-in-law in Kampala for the purpose of finding a job. He was given food and accommodation free of charge until he found a job after a few months, at which point he began paying his contribution. As an educated man, able to find a good job as a clerk, his income was immediately much higher than that of his brother-in-law. Both for reasons of self-esteem and in a quest for less crowded accommodation, he opted to lodge with an unrelated bachelor at the more affluent estate of Naguru, in a far more expensive house. After a year he himself was able to rent a house back at Nakawa. His brother, Amos, immediately junior to him, but some 12 years younger, joined him then, in 1957. He was 11 years of age. He had come to receive education. At the time Mau Mau disturbances in Kenya made school attendance hazardous, so it had been thought better by his father that the boy come to Kampala for his schooling. It fell on Ochen as the eldest son in employment to pay his fees.

Onguto is Ochen's patrilateral cross-cousin. In 1958, Ochen was this time obliged to accommodate Onguto who had come to find employment. Onguto was sixteen at the time. His father, an uneducated man, had refused to continue paying his son's school fees, and had bought himself a fourth wife and shop.

Onguto, after some 15 months lodging with Ochen, found it convenient to lodge with a series of unrelated tribesmen with whom he had made friends, mainly through his occupation as a semi-skilled storekeeper in the Ministry of Works. It had been convenient to cease lodging with Ochen, as the latter now wished to bring his wife and children to live in the town.

While Onguto was lodging at Nakawa with one of his unrelated Luo friends, Okello, he received a message from his kinsfolk at home that his father's brother's daughter, Ester, had eloped to Kampala with another Luo. No arrangements for marriage, i.e. the bridewealth and ceremony, had been made. The girl was his parallel cousin, and of the same clan (C), and it fell on Onguto to persuade the girl to leave the man and return home. This he did. The girl's parents, (d) and (e), realised that, through this elopement, the girl's marrying value at home had diminished. They trusted the girl to Onguto's charge and left it to him to find her a husband in Kampala, since she now had the lesser status of a 'town girl'.

Okello, like Onguto, had also found disaffection with his father (1) for "not giving me more education" and (2) for not giving him bridewealth. His father had said, "You earn money in the town. You can pay for the bridewealth". Okello had twice previously tried to arrange his own marriage, on the first occasion by sending money direct to the girl's parents, on the second occasion by sending the money to his sister. On both occasions the money was 'consumed'. Okello's disaffection with his father had by then extended to all his close kinsfolk, so that, without their support, he was unable to reclaim his money. Onguto, therefore, as Okello's close friend (they shared the similar grievance of being only half-educated), regarded his charge over Ester as an opportunity for providing the luckless Okello with a cheap wife. Neither thought the bridewealth would be as much as usual in view of Ester's lowered urban status. Okello and Ester agreed to the arrangement.

At the same time as Onguto was making these arrangements, the larger subtribe association, whose chairman was Ochen, and which embraced members from clans A,B,and C, and some others, felt it its duty to deal with the girl's case, and resented Onguto's individual handling of the matter, in spite of the latter's protestation that he was acting with the girl's parents' consent. The association, in normal fashion, wanted to send the wayward girl home. But the personal appearance and intervention at Kampala of the girl's parents allowed Okello and Ester to start living together.

Ochen, as chairman of this subtribe association, had, in this conflict between the association and Onguto, regarded the younger classificatory brother's individual handling of the case as "proud" (i.e. "uppish"). This had later consequences for their relationship, e.g. (1) they broke up the partnership they had in running a local shop, (2) Onguto started a small clan association in town in opposition to Ochen and to the larger subtribe association.

After 18 months' "marriage", no bridewealth had been paid by Okello to Ester's parents. Onguto was therefore called upon to persuade Okello to hand over the money for the necessary cattle. Though this conflicted with his obligation to Okello as a friend, he chose to carry out the wishes of his kinsfolk at home.

In 1962, Onguto welcomed his patrilateral parallel cousin, Orayo, to Kampala. They are close agnates and, of course, of the same clan (C). Onguto managed to find Orayo a job as a porter. Some months later, Onguto was himself dismissed from his job and spent many months unemployed. During this time it was Orayo who kept him, though the house and furniture were, of course, in Onguto's name, and he continued to be regarded as "householder".

The clan association which Onguto had established ceased to exist as a constitutional entity, i.e. with a committee, membership book, and the formal convening of meetings, but interaction between the clansmen continued to be frequent. For instance, a clansman, his two wives, six children and chickens descended on Onguto's house and hospitality and stayed for a week. Their settlement near Port Bell, a few miles from Kampala, where they had been working, had been badly damaged by floods. No prior warning or invitation to Onguto's house was necessary, "since they are clansmen and have a right to be fed, housed and helped in any other way".

At the same time, the conflict between Onguto and Ochen became resolved. Onguto had a dream in which his dead paternal grandmother had beseeched him to reconcile the dispute. She had said that it was "immoral" for Luo "brothers" to be in enmity, and that "if Luo brothers are not united what will come of the name (the patrilineage)".

Having heeded the dream, Onguto, as ego, was now in interaction with lateral kinsmen, affines, and by extension kin of the latter, and patriclansmen, all of whom constituted his urban network of "kinsmen".

b) Group Aspects of the Urban Kinship Network

What has been described is a network, since throughout it was centred around an ego, Onguto. But now let it be considered as far as possible as a group or series of groups, remembering that since the case concerned Luo, comments will for the moment confine themselves to this tribe.

To what extent does the case exhibit bounded systems of relationships, in which the same persons interact more or less regularly, share a general consensus of norms, and acknowledge common membership?

Clearly, there are distinct fields of corporate action. The network described is not merely one incorporating kin alone. Clan membership is distinguished, and the case illustrates the significance of clanship for members in town. Common home origin is evident, especially in the fact that there is an urban subtribe association, which, founded on the administrative subtribal areas at home[1], attempts to embrace in an authoritarian manner members of the clans A, B and C while they are in town. At home, distinct clan areas are modern administrative divisions of the subtribe. But in town clansmen try to assert their autonomy and may form their own voluntary formal association. Even without such associations, clansmen in town are

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[1] The Luo subtribe is a modern administrative unit called a location in Kenya.

involved in a reciprocity of obligations which imitate those between kinsmen.

Also distinguished as fields of corporate action are male siblings[1], other agnates, and lateral kinsmen. In theory and in practice there is a limited or bounded number of male siblings and agnates. As with clansmen and fellow subtribesmen, the patrilineal principle ideally defines the limits of the group made up of male siblings and agnates. Other bilateral kinsmen merely constitute a network of relationships around any ego. Lateral kinsmen are not necessarily all of ego's clan. In the case, two of Onguto's three cousins are members of different clans.

But, as within the groups of male siblings and agnates, there is a reciprocity of obligations between lateral kinsmen.

Within the male sibling group these obligations are the provision of accommodation, school fees, and authority on the part of the elder brother in return for the performance of domestic chores by the younger. There may be a temporary breach of this relationship following the assertion of individual independence by the younger brother. In the case, this was eventually repaired.

Similar reciprocal obligations may obtain in a household of non-agnatic lateral kinsmen, especially cross-cousins. I have recorded no cases among the Luo of a household of matrilateral parallel cousins in Nakawa or Naguru. The obligations between members of a household of lateral kinsmen are, as one might expect,

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[1] Male sibling seems a more precise term than brother, since, among English speakers at Naguru and Nakawa, "brother" may be used to refer to any male lateral kinsman as well as to male full and half-siblings.

likely to be less strong than those between close agnates. For instance, in such a household, it is unlikely that the senior kinsman will regularly pay school fees for a younger. This obligation, which may be regarded as now well integrated into Luo expectations, remains the duty of an elder full or half-sibling. Lateral kinsmen of separate households maintain intimate contacts, frequently visiting one another, providing financial aid in emergencies, and acting, often in addition to and distinct from an individual's agnates and clansmen, as advisers. But, as I shall illustrate, there are common interests uniting the segmentary, overlapping groups of male siblings, agnates and clansmen, whereas there are no such interests common to lateral kinsmen.

A reciprocity of obligations may also obtain between affines. Ochen first lodged and was kept by his brother-in-law. Onguto created an affinal relationship by marrying Ester off to Okello, his friend. There are instances, too, of men in town accommodating and paying the school fees for younger brothers- or sisters-in-law as part of their bridewealth obligations to their wive's kin.

It must be remembered that affines, as distinct from non-agnatic lateral kin, do constitute a group, albeit a non-membership group. That is to say, in a highly segmentary lineage society like the Luo, a man and his wife are each members of distinct natal patrilineages which are capable of defining their respective boundaries and opposing each other. Just as Onguto's patrilineage, clan, and subtribe, were capable of acting corporately to safeguard their interests regarding Ester, so the respective groups of Okello, her

husband, were likely to act in the same way against Onguto and his kin if they felt their own interests were in jeopardy. Indeed, a couple of years after her marriage, Ester did run away from Okello. Okello's close agnates and some clansmen in Kampala vigourously demanded that she return. Ester's pespective groups claimed that not enough bridewealth had been paid to warrant such forcibly made demands, though they did "recapture" Ester and reinstate her with Okello, presumably in continuing anticipation of more bridewealth.

Suffice to say that, where, as among the Luo, marriage is regarded as a transactional affair between corporate lineages, a man regards his wife's affines as a clearly delineated urban as well as rural group.

Briefly distinguished, then, by their different levels of corporate action in town as well as at home, are the groups of male siblings, agnates, clansmen, subtribesmen, and affines. The individual has permanent and ascribed status in the first four, while in the latter he has something approaching contractual status.

Among urban Luo the sibling group is the most obviously corporate, as one might expect. Common home interests are of immediate mutual concern. Brothers jointly inherit a father's property and land. The common home interests are reflected in an urban pattern of obligations which are often as strong as those between them at home. There appears to be no significant difference in the nature of the relationships of full and half-brothers in town, though, in the rural district, the latter, as the respective sons of their father's co-wives, are said to be divided by a sometimes

intense rivalry. Among the Luo, nyiego, specifically refers to jealousy between half-brothers. In Kampala, I have heard this term used to refer to jealousy between kinsmen of all categories, and also between unrelated fellowtribesmen.

Respective urban groups of agnates, clansmen, and, to a much lesser extent, subtribesmen, are concerned with such practical matters as collecting money for sending home a deceased member's corpse, and sometimes forming mutual aid and sports associations. They also voice "traditional" tribal ideology and norms, and may assume ritual significance.

Largely dependent initially on the extent to which the group at home is corporate and localised is the phenomenon whereby new migrants, especially, emphasise their common membership. In its diminished size and more specific operational scale, the group is likely to become even more corporate in town than at home, and to have its objectives consciously oriented to the solution of urban problems.

c) The Altered Nature of some "Traditional" Relationships.

The undeniable effect that rural factors have on the above Luo groups in town is not to be taken as a statement that the relationships and obligations in them are mere transportations from the rural context. On the contrary, relationships in town are very much altered. Though rural expectations are not necessarily excluded, urban expectations become additional or fused, or may conflict.

The relationships of brothers-in-law and of male siblings are instances.

In the case, Onguto's relationship to his "sister's" husband (Okello) takes on a new tone in that the latter becomes an affine as well as a friend, and illustrates the phenomenon of marriages often being arranged between friends in town.

Urban affinal relationships appear immediately subject to some change. For instance, in a tribe which is virilocal and patrilocal as are the Luo, territorial distance and the general difficulty of transport and communications in the rural district would normally restrict ego's visit to his married sister, and her husband and his kin. In the town, physical proximity and ease of transport puts a man and his married sister and affines into much greater interaction. The diminished physical and social distance so produced may alter the whole nature of the brother/married sister and affines relationship. In the rural district, the relationship between affines is largely formal, sometimes hedged by enmity between ego and the affines. Certainly it is a respect relationship. The exigencies of life in a town, and an alien one at that, preclude enmity. Mutual aid becomes the norm. This, the lessened physical distance, and the wishes of a sister to see her brother, may make for friendship between a man and his sister's husband, and the latter's brothers in town.

In some cases, however, the brother-in-law (ego's sister's husband) may resent this substituting of a respect by a joking relationship. These cases are not confined to Luo.

A Kiga of Nakawa, speaking to a kinsman, condemned his sister's husband, who lived at Naguru, for not visiting him frequently enough, and for "standing aloof" when he himself visited them. "How can he keep my sister from me?" he asked.

Paradoxically, the brother-in-law, by appearing to preserve the formality of the relationship, is condemned, though traditionally, i.e. in the rural district, his action would appear the norm.

The relationship of a young migrant to his elder full or half-brother in the town is also altered. The elder brother assumes full responsibility for the younger. The latter's dependence on the former has already been mentioned and exists in the form of accommodation, the payment of school fees, and the finding of jobs. It also exaggerates the seniority and authority of the elder brother, who takes on the role of father. But this transference of paternal roles is not always smooth. A conflict of paternal role-expectations may occur between the father at home and the elder brother in the town.

Otieno, a sixteen year old Luo, was living with his elder full-brother, Thomas, in Nakawa. He had been attending a nearby school for the previous four years. His fees were, of course, paid by Thomas. He had now reached Standard 9 (Junior School Leaving Certificate). If accepted, he would then be able to enter a Senior Secondary School. His father very much wanted his education to be furthered. Thomas, who had only reached Standard 8 himself, was rather jealous at seeing the possibility of his younger brother becoming a highly educated man. In addition, he resented having to pay the considerably higher Senior Secondary School fees, and at first refused to do so. There was a period of disaffection between him and his father and younger brother until, urged by his father and other agnates that, in the town, he was himself a "father", he relented and agreed to pay the fees.

A conflict of this nature indicates that though the male sibling group is, on the one hand, the closest, it is also, on the other hand, a source of the greatest occasional friction. This is not the paradox it first sounds. Common interests unite brothers in the permanent relationship. Intimacy may be a product of the high frequency of interaction which such unity demands. But it is probably an axiom of all intimate relationships that tensions are generated and find expression through occasional disharmony.

Apart from the obligation to pay school fees by elder brothers working in town, there are other issues responsible for occasional friction. Some are minor and range from the refusal of the younger brother to perform some of his elder brother's domestic chores while lodging with him in town; deviant behaviour by the younger brother, e.g. missing school, or, if he is working, "drinking and roaming" with prostitutes; and similarly deviant behaviour by the elder brother and subsequent attempts at correction by the younger.

The most easily observable issue responsible for friction is the movement in accommodation from an elder brother by a younger, more recent urban migrant. This indicates a striking out for independence by the younger brother and is potentially a hostile action, since it involves the latter's self-evaluation and a partial, though not total, rejection of the elder's authority and superiority.

This physical movement and striking out for independence may be a cause of disputes not only between male siblings living under the same roof, but also between members of the patrilineal groups referred to, merely living near to each other, on the same estate

or part of estate. To these Luo groups, and to those of other tribes I shall mention, such actions are often regarded as a symbolic betrayal of agnatic solidarity. This may not seem a very pragmatic statement, and there may not seem to be very much rationale attaching to the cause of some resultant disputes. But there is a strong ideological tone attaching to agnatic relationships, often regardless of more practical considerations. This ideological content cannot be ignored where it appears as a prescriptive or restrictive determinant of behaviour. In short, among some tribespeople, especially when they are part of an urban tribal heterogeneity, there is a good case for claiming that the idiom of kinship may persist well beyond the many practical economic and political demands. At the same time, among the Luo, these latter do unite the closer agnatic groups in a specific manner.

d) Sexual and Conjugal Relationships

The fusion or conflict of rural and urban expectations, and the part played in this process by stress or lack of stress on the agnatic principle, are especially evident in the patterns of urban sexual and conjugal relationships. I describe the general setting surrounding these relationships before discussing Luo and other tribespeoples' expectations of them.

In most African towns, men outnumber women, often by far. In Greater Kampala the man/woman ration is nearly 2 to 1. In Naguru and Nakawa the predominance of men over women is less. The 1,157 married male household heads usually have their wives

living with them in the town for some of the year if not throughout. Few men resident on the estates, except for the Nakawa Kiga, are short-term "target" migrants. Most are above the average length of residence by migrants in Greater Kampala and, exhibiting some degree of urban permanence, find it expedient to provide an urban home for their wives for at least some months of the year. Wives are useful agents of communication with the home people. They normally go to their husband's rural homes during the digging, planting, and harvesting seasons. But in their urban homes their domestic and sexual duties towards their husbands are no less indispensable. Much is sometimes made of the great availability of prostitutes in African towns. They are sometimes regarded as redressing the imbalance of men and women by providing the former with sexual satisfaction. What is often forgotten is the financial expense of procuring prostitutes, the widespread realisation and sometimes fear of venereal disease, and the half-real and half-mythical ideas on the connection between promiscuity, prostitution and infertility in both males and females.

With regard to the people of Naguru and Nakawa, I may be permitted the broad generalisation that, though they are above the Kampala average in socio-economic status and can more easily afford it, they are even less inclined to make use of prostitutes. They have a relatively vested interest in urban standards of living and aspirations. They resent heavy expenditure on prostitutes since this thwarts their chances of acquiring clothes, furniture, or a motor vehicle, the possession of which defines persons' statuses.

They fear the social consequences of venereal disease, as well as the physical. Many regard children as essential attributes of their urban status images and fear infertility.

The relatively large number of married household heads at Naguru and Nakawa who have their wives living with them for a part or whole of the year have to be seen in the light of this integral role wives sometimes play in their husbands' conceptions of urban status. The "Western" reference group's norms concerning the relatively joint conjugal role-relationship appear to have percolated to the African elite, so that it has become important for a figure of public standing to be monogamous, nominally at least, and to have an educated wife who is permanently resident in town. Clearly, few even of the residents of Naguru and Nakawa can afford to keep a wife with them in town for the whole of the year, nor does their measure of public standing demand this. But persons desirous of upward social mobility go some way in this direction. Almost all married residents are monogamous and, as I shall illustrate in a later chapter, some of them attach special value to reformulating the conjugal relationship.

Single men and women constitute smaller proportions of the estates' household heads. Except for short-term migrants and some independent female traders, these men and women have occupations requiring the use of English, are thus of higher than average status, and mostly live at Naguru. I have already explained why they are awarded houses originally built for a family. Estate managers state that it is often only persons of fairly high occupational

status who can afford the middle and high-grade Naguru houses and that, in the absence of a married applicant, a single man or woman of suitable socio-economic status may justifiably be allocated the house.

It is the single man, or woman, who is most likely to have kinsmen living with him and wholly or partly supported by him. When a single man considers himself socially and economically prepared for marriage and if he has spent at least a couple of years in town and envisages continuing in urban employment, he is faced with the typical choice of either arranging a marriage from among his urban associates or following the more traditional pattern by returning to the rural home and arranging for the choice of partner and marriage there. Luo distinguish these two choices clearly, though, in practice, their urban arrangements also accommodate rural expectations.

Urban arrangements for marriage may be through the bride's brothers, agnates or other kinsmen who are known to the groom as workplace associates, neighbours, or other regular acquaintances. The arrangements may still follow a traditional pattern of exchange of bridewealth, a return home for a ceremony, and corporate interest and action by the two kin groups. Such arrangements typify the marriages of migrants of segmentary lineage tribes such as the Luo. A relatively large proportion of these migrants exclude all urban contacts in their preparation for marriage and specially return to the rural home to initiate arrangements, often not returning to town until months after the marriage has been established.

Alternatively, the single man may exercise far more individual choice and strike up a strong liaison with a woman who is working or studying in Kampala. After some period of cohabitation and with the birth of one or more children the union may assume some degree of permanence. Eventually the woman may be taken to the man's rural home, though not necessarily. Both there and among urban associates she may become regarded and referred to as "permanent wife". This graduation of a temporary urban liaison to a permanent, more socially recognised union is typical of those tribespeople in the estates'whose ideas concerning the status of women and marital arrangements are flexible and whose bridewealth payments are commonly of little real value. Such ideas are wholly contrary to those of even urban Luo and other segmentary lineage tribespeople and, as I shall show, characterise those of centralised tribespeople.

e) Urban Agnatic Obligations and the Underlying Rural Common Interests

In the preceding paragraphs I have already expressed the significance in role-relationship differences between segmentary lineage and centralised tribespeople. I shall show in more detail what this distinction means in group formation and individual behaviour. I first illustrate the basic common interests which, still among the Luo, unite migrants in the agnatically-based urban groups described above.

Apart from the reciprocity of obligations occurring within the groups and relationships described, there is a series of more unilateral obligations of people in town to their kin at home. To

the latter, urban migrants are, in the classificatory sense, the "sons", "daughters", and "brothers" and "sisters" who are subject to their authority or influence. The home poeple include the "mothers" and "fathers". The latter, in particular, exert their authority in the name of family or lineage. Among the Luo this claim to authority is not merely nominal. Within the family, and, in some contexts, within the lineage of up to five generations depth, rest the apportionment of land, cattle, and other property, as well as some of the obligations and arrangements surrounding marriage. Within the wider groups of maximal lineage, clan, and subtribe, the agnatic principle continues to be invoked for some practical purposes, in particular land or bridewealth disputes, but also in ideology. When, for instance, disputes or violence odcur between urban migrants of the same clan or subtribe, fellow members at home, as well as those already in town, invoke the virtues of agnatic solidarity and apply sanctions of disapproval.

Within the smaller groups of family and minimal lineage, the home people expect "their children" in town to send money home by post for younger, especially male, siblings' school fees, or "to help the parents". The latter expect also to be visited, recognising ostensibly at least, the high ideological value in the constant reunification of those placed distantly from each other by the fact of urban migration. Each visit home must be accompanied by gifts of money to close relatives, and, in many cases, more distant ones also.

One Luo turned down the offer of a free lift home in another man's car during an extended national holiday.because he "would have to pay the parents a lot of money". He preferred to wait until his annual leave was due a few months' later. One visit home is cheaper than two or three.

Sometimes a father at home may appeal to a son working in Kampala for financial help in a matter which the father regards as much the concern of the son as himself. For instance, a Luo of Nakawa received a letter from his father urging him to send money needed in a court dispute over the family's land boundaries. Loss of the court case would mean a reduction of the family's land, which did indeed concern the son. The son sent some money as quickly as he was able. He did not let the matter rest there but co-opted the help of some patrilateral parallel cousins who were also working in Kampala, but who were residentially dispersed throughout the city. At the first available opportunity, the son and two of the cousins returned to the son's father's home and, before the formal court case, talked with the jodongo (elders), who are presumed to know better than anyone the genealogies relating to rightful landholding.

There are other cases where "brothers" in town collect money and delegate one or more among them to return home with the money and so numerically as well as financially add strength to the lineage's representation at the court. Land is relatively scarce in Kenya and every acre of a minimal lineage's territory, whether or not it is currently under its use, is regarded as vital for future security. A return to the land is still the intention of most Luo, either in

anticipation of an early or late retirement, or as a result of such immediate crises as urban unemployment. This anticipation has prompted fifty Luo on both Naguru and Nakawa to start building or already to have built "permanent" houses on their "fathers' land", that is, within or at a short distance from their natal homestead. A more ritualpreoccupation of this anticipated return to the natal homstead area is the sending home of a migrant's corpse. The cost of this may be borne not only by close agnates and clansmen, but, in many cases, also by subtribesmen, or by fellow Luo not of the deceased's subtribe.

Two issues in the major case recorded earlier in this chapter also illustrate the linking of interests between town and country. One is the status of the unmarried woman in town. The other is the assertion of urban clan solidarity and autonomy.

In the case, Ester, by eloping, had deviated from the behaviour expected of an unmarried woman. The fact that she eloped to town with an urban migrant worsened her deviance. Ochen, representing her subtribe, and Onguto, both as a close agnate and clansman, each took it upon himself to correct the girl. Onguto had the backing of the girl's parents and became instigator of and mediator in her subsequent marriage arrangements. There was never any question of allowing Ester to act independently. She, as a woman of a family, minimal lineage, clan and subtribe, was apparently subject to the authority of any of these.

The importance to the girl's close agnates of bridewealth in the marriage transactions clearly affected the girl's status.

The desire among urban-dwelling members of her clan and subtribe to project themselves as moral guides or interpreters of tribal ideology also affected her status.

The assertion of clan autonomy was based on the contention among Ester's urban clansmen that, in putative agnatic reckoning, she was more their "sister"tthan her subtribesmen's.

Thus, Ester's parents and other people at home considered it the duty of Onguto, as Ester's patrilateral parallel cousin and as a clansman, to take charge of her. He was expected to dissuade her from living with the man with whom she had eloped to Kampala, to arrange her marriage in town, and, later, to support the parents in their claims for bridewealth. Onguto's urban clansmen approved of this arrangement.

The urban subtribe association, which was headed by Ochen and which embraced clans A,B,C and others, considered the girl's case to be its own prerogative and not that of an individual. Onguto was regarded as a deviant who rejected the subtribe and his elder "brother's" authority in the matter. But Onguto considered he had been resident in Kampala long enough to assume some urban responsibilitie for some of his close agnates. (Except in so far as they are members of the same subtribe, Ester is not, of course, related to Ochen, though the latter and Onguto are). Again, Onguto was supported by his clansmen in this conflict of expectations. The personal appearance of Ester's parents in Kampala and their ruling in the matter was, in fact, accepted by the subtribe association. But, by then, the conflict between Onguto and Ochen and the other subtribe

association leaders had grown so intense that Onguto gathered around him some chansmen who formed their own clan association. Thus, this assertion of clan solidarity and autonomy in town may bring about a process of urban association segmentation within the tribe.

The overlapping, segmentary, urban groups delineated as those of the subtribe, clan, and of agnates and male siblings, are in part based on a range of practical and ideological common interests for related townspeople and for the members of these groups at home. Also, as I shall illustrate, these groups inject other more specifically urban interests into their organisation. But the basic common interests stem from the very nature of the society discussed. The Luo are a segmentary lineage society, where, in the rural context, most lineages are "corporate landholding units..... They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognising one of their number as leader. Organised on a territorial basis they are the units of primary settlement..... responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land."[1] Bridewealth among the Luo is high, ranging from 12 to 15 cows. Urban migrants, especially, are often urged to pay an additional cash sum which in some cases exceeds Shs.1000/-.

I have described in some detail some factors responsible for the formation of clearly delineated urban Luo kin and subtribal groups. I do not describe in similar detail the urban groups of those segmentary lineage tribes exhibiting the same general features

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[1] A.W. Southall, 1952, op.cit.

as Luo society. I merely indicate such tribes and state that, in more or less similar vein, the same factors are responsible for the delineation of respective urban groups. I do not deny the differences in detail between the societies of such tribes nor between their respective urban group formations. But I must largely ignore them in preference for the more general distinction between segmentary lineage and centralised tribal societies and their respective urban populations. This distinction provides a bulky enough problem in itself.

f) Cross-tribal Comparison of the Intensity of Rural Common Interests in Urban Group Formation.

The other non-centralised segmentary lineage societies numerically and socially significant at Naguru and Nakawa are the Kenya Luhya and Samia, including three-quarters of the latter from Uganda, the Uganda Nilotes (Acholi, Lango, Alur[1], Jonam and Padhola), the Lugbara, and the Kiga. The Teso are non-centralised and segmentary though, apparently, less obviously. Like the Luo, these tribes exhibit in their home districts the features of high bridewealth payments and more or less localised lineages, of varying genealogical depth and with varying degrees of corporateness. Significantly, with the exception of Padhola and Teso, these tribes alone have formal tribal, subtribal, or clan associations in Kampala.

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[1] A.W. Southall, 1954, Alur Society, Heffer, Cambridge. Though a "segmentary state", the Alur are not so centralised that they have ceased having "corporate lineages.....regarded by their members as permanently constituted groups....land-holding lineages.....are equated by the Alur with the localised territorial units which bear the same names." p.37.

A man of any of these tribes working in Kampala may, during or after his period of employment, build a "permanent" house on his "father's" land. Inheritance of both land and property is shared by all sons, though it may be according to primogeniture. A son's wife and children are, ideologically, the wife and children of a minimal lineage. It is the latter, or, at least, the father of an extended family of the latter who is supposed to have paid his son's high bridewealth payments. In addition, heads of local groups are, in most cases, still heads of dominant lineages, so that, together with the control exercised over them by the elders, members of the sibling group and lineage are subject to common local jurisdiction, as are members of the same clan or equivalent unit. The ideal, balanced opposition of lineage groups and segments of these groups, none subordinate to the power or authority of another, confers upon such tribes egalitarian philosophies and institutions.

These features of the segmentary lineage societies referred to contrast with those of the centralised kingdoms of the Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Soga, and Haya. I do not consider the latter, who are numerically insignificant at Naguru and Nakawa. Taylor, in referring to the Western Lacustrine Bantu, states that "All tribes (including the Nyoro and Toro), with the exeeption of the Kiga, consist of small, shallow, locally dispersed lineages and widely dispersed, totemic, exogamous patriclans."[1] Fallers, on the Soga, refers to the "wide dispersion of clans" which are never localised units, and states that "both recent events and traditional patterns of inheritance

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[1] B.K. Taylor, 1962, op.cit., p.15. My brackets.

(i.e. to only one son) have contributed to population movement and hence to lineage dispersal".[1] Richards, too, for the Ganda, states that "neither the clan nor its major sub-divisions are territorial groups in the usual sense".[2] Both the latter writers, however, stress that clans and lineages do have some corporate functions to perform, though the non-localisation characteristic of these groups must preclude corporateness of the degree exhibited in the segmentary lineage societies. Bridewealth, for instance, though it is usually of slight or token value, is generally not recoverable even in cases when it is a relatively large sum of cash. Patrilinity is a relative concept and among the centralised tribes is not the strong determinant of group formation and social obligations that it is among the segmentary lineage tribes.

Among these kingdoms, too, the head of a local group is unlikely to be associated with any significantly dominant lineage, and, in most cases, has his authority arrogated to him through the hierarchy by the king. But the point to be stressed is that the lesser degree of lineage and clan localisation and corporateness, and the social and political hierarchies are interrelated with the land tenure and inheritance and, possibly, marital systems of these kingdoms.

Some Ganda, for instance, are reluctant to settle on their father's land when they have finished working in the town. As members of a hierarchical society, with its division, among others, between landowners and tenants, they wish to emulate the status of

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1 L.A. Fallers, 1956, op.cit., pp.65 and 94. My brackets.

2 A.I. Richards, undated, Ganda Clan Structure, E.A.I.S.R. Manuscript.

their fathers if these latter are tenants. One way of achieving this emulation of one's fathers and of elevating one's status is to become a landowner oneself. This is possible in Buganda where landowners have freehold over their estates, and can make outright sales of their land. In the other hierarchical societies, too, where there is de facto sale and individual ownership, sons may buy land of their own, either to emulate their fathers, or because they are, or feel they will be, victims of preferential inheritance.

Nyajonyintono, a Soga of 25, living at Naguru, left school in 1956 after eight years of schooling. He then went to a technical institute in Kampala East for two years, after which he found a job with a Kampala firm as a vehicle mechanic. Towards the end of his period at the technical institute he came to know a Soga girl through her brother, who was a friend of his at the institute. The girl lived with him, a child was born, their relationship developed, and five years after they first lived together they had a church wedding. No bridewealth has been given to her parents. Two reasons were cited for this. One was that the girls' brother had considered his friendship with Nyajonyintono to obviate the necessity for this, and the other was that the parents professed to have simply come to "accept him as a son, while he has given our daughter a good home".

Nyajonyintono comes from near Iganga in Busoga, but has built a house some six miles from Jinja, the capital town of his tribal district. He continues to work in Kampala and live at Naguru, regarding his house near Jinja as an investment and security for the future as well as currently awarding him prestige. Three brothers have also built houses outside Jinja. But their father continues to live near Iganga. "He has much land there but it is not yet known to whom this land will go. Probably the three brothers who are still at school and are not yet independent will have the land to help them in case they do not succeed in their education".

Nyajonyintono expressed the view that since uneducated or semi-educated Soga could earn reasonable money in Busoga on their farms (shambas) through growing cotton, bananas and coffee, only the educated Soga (i.e. with no less than eight years of education), who could obtain fairly well-paid jobs, found it profitable to have shambas near the town and grow cash-crops as well as maintaining their jobs.

The tendency of these people to save the money they earn in town and to buy land of their own in the tribal district results not only in the spatial separations of sons from their fathers but also in the spatial separation of brothers themselves, so that ties of common locality loosen. Moreover, for the Ganda at least, land boundaries are on the whole indisputable. Landowners have theirs validated by the mailo land tenure system Agreement of 1900, and tenants' boundaries are protected by the Busulu and Envujo Law of 1927. Most disputes are not over boundaries but are over land inheritance, which of course disrupt the unity of the sibling group. This contrasts with the situation among most segmentary lineage societies where land disputes are usually over a lineage's boundaries in face of claims by an adjacent lineage. Such disputes emphasise the solidarity of each competing lineage. This solidarity obtains between members of the lineage in town as much as between those at home, since land is inherited by all sons, who are therefore equally concerned if the dispute and some land are lost.

For Ganda, Toro, Nyoro and Soga siblings or agnates living in the town, then, the chances of their being united with a common interest in the family or lineage land are small. I do not suggest that "brothers" are in permanent disunity, since in most cases

cordial relationships between them are the norm. But, as the same Soga put it, "We do not expect our brothers or relatives to help us get a job, though we know a relative will help us if we are on good terms with him and if we ask for his aid. We prefer to get our job with the education we have and make our mark independently." And, in the same breath, "You see, we are not like these Kenyans ((meaning the Luo and Luhya/Samia)".

The early dispersmnn of siblings and their concomitant relative independence of eadh other, as illustrated in the Soga's case, contrasts with the desire of Luo and other segmentary lineage tribesmen to build "permanent" houses on their father's land. Like the Soga mechanic, an increasing number of younger migrants of centralised tribes have begun buying land in their tribal district for growing cash crops. Many Ganda have acquired land much nearer Kampala, or have built a "permanent" house in Mengo or a Kampala suburb. Any of these decisions ensures the territorial separation of these people from their parents and siblings, while at the same time they are able to continue in urban wage employment. The possible development of such tendencies is illustrated in the case of a middle-aged Ganda, who has been working in towns for the best part of eighteen years.

Kato lives in a Shs.73/- house at Naguru. His father is a kibanja (leased plot) holder in Masaka District, but has only a small plot. Kato regarded himself as fortunate in having been given eight years of schooling. He left school in 1936 and joined the Uganda police in the same year as a constable. He worked his wgy up to the rank of sub-inspector, and in 1950 retired from the force. Then, he invested the money he had accumulated from his

wages in a shop at Nakulubia in Mengo. After initial success with the shop he began to supply more and more customers on credit. This applied especially to a petrol pump which he had had sited outside his shop by an oil company. He referred to the customers as "big men" since many had high positions in the Kabaka's Government or in commerce. His credit accumulated, but so many of his debtors defaulted in payment to him that he became bankrupt in 1956. He now shows bitter dislike for "those people at Mengo" on both personal and political grounds, being an ardent Catholic and supporter of the opposition Democratic Party. After having to give up his shop he obtained a reasonably well-paid job as a clerk in the City Council and eventually moved to his present house at Naguru.

While his shop was still flourishing he had bought fifteen acres of land a few miles from Kampala and now refers to himself as a mutaka (landlord). He employed porters and had coffee planted on $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, reaping a substantial yield five years later. He intends to develop the rest of the land when he permanently retires from urban wage employment and has sufficient capital.

His two brothers are "just cultivating" leased plots which they obtained independently of each other and of their father at some twelve miles distance from each other and nearer to the town of Masaka than their father's plot. Kato is satisfied at having bettered them.

His wife remains on his land with nine of their eleven children still at school. Of the other two, both daughters, one is a typist in Nairobi and the other a teacher in Kampala. Both are unmarried. Kato expresses no more than a concern that each of his daughters has "men friends" from different tribes.

g) Loosened Agnatic Solidarity among Centralised Tribespeople

The claim that individual progress is achieved "independently" of relatives is certainly more of a value than a fact at an initial stage of a centralised tribesman's urban residence and career. He, like any other migrant, seeks relatives living in town as the obvious initial providers of board and lodging. But there are many cases indicating that agnatic closeness alone may be a secondary factor of choice. Many Ganda, in particular, have stressed the high potentiality of fraternal conflict as deterring the choice of residence with even full brothers. Others rationalise this and other familial tensions by referring to the "mother's people" as of kindlier disposition, "for they know you are definitely the son of their daughter, for she has brone you, but your father's people are never sure if he begot you." This oft cited sentiment, mostly voiced by Ganda but also by a few other centralised tribesmen, alludes to the apparently increasing instability in even rural conjual and family relations among these peoples. Life histories reveal the very many definite preferences for association with maternal kin by migrants of these tribes, both in childhood and later years, in rural district and town.[1]

Mothers and fathers are frequently mentioned as having "run away" or "left us at home". Where a father has insisted on retaining his children, a right to which customary law entitles him, resentment

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[1] H.C.A. Somerset, 1964, Home Structure, Parental Separation, and Examination Success in Buganda, a paper presented to the Faculty of Social Sciences, Makerere University College, also reports the frequency with which many Ganda schoolchildren appear to prefer to live with matrikin after parental separation.

is frequently expressed by the children in later years, when they are migrants for instance. They state they would have preferred to "go with the mother", even though it may have been she who left them and their father. In many cases, of course, mothers do take their children with them, usually with the husband's tacit approval. The mother may return to the family of her parents. Even if she has eloped with another man, her ties with her parents and kin are maintained, whereas those with her husband's kin are broken. Apart from the presumably stronger emotional attachment by the child for its mother, it is often she and her kin who constitute the only stable elements in the child's life.

These cases are probably still a minority, though a substantial minority of urban migrants of these tribes at Naguru and Nakawa have expressed these facts in their life histories. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the rural family organisation of these tribes is developing along the lines of the matri-focal household unit illustrated in British Guiana by Smith[1], though in the Kampala suburbs described by Southall and Gutkind this development may apply in particular cases. There is also a very small number of unmarried women with children at Naguru and Nakawa for whom this development seems to apply.

The more immediate significance of the substantial preference for maternal kin is that it partly derives from loosened agnatic solidarity, though other factors are involved also. Segmentary lineage tribesmen frequently express amazement and horror at what

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[1] R.T. Smith, 1956, The Negro Family in British Guiana, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

they view as the bizarre marriage and family systems of centralised tribespeople. They claim that "if they (centralised tribespeople) cared about the name of their fathers", their agnates and affines would exert pressure on spouses to maintain the stability of their marriages and family life, as they themselves do. A surprisingly large number give the often negligible value of bridewealth, or the fact that it is not recoverable, as responsible for the development of such systems.

The lessening of effective agnatic ties involves the urban migrant of a centralised tribe in a larger number of effective matrilateral ties than occurs among segmentary lineage tribesmen.

As in many examples of urban mutual aid, this is reflected in the substantial number of centralised tribesmen who, on their first visit and migratory period in Kampala, lodge with matrilateral kin and, in exercising their greater freedom of choice, may opt to lodge with a mother's kinsmen in preference even to a full sibling. This, Luo tell you, would never be tolerated among themselves. They express further amazement at this practice. They say, "If your fathers' sons (i.e. classificatory brothers) are already in town, how can you ever go to your mother's people there?"

Migrants of centralised tribes do, of course, utilise a large proportion of agnatic ties. But they are less compelled, either by material interest or ideology, to utilise them and forsake more profitable or gratifying matrilateral ties. The substitution of some agnatic by matrilateral ties places the migrant at the centre of an effective urban network of bilateral kin.

TABLE VI

The Relationship to 50 Urban Migrants of the Household Head with whom each of them first lodged in Kampala

Segmentary Lineage Tribesmen		Full- or Half-Brother	Close Agnate	Cross-Cousin	Matrilateral Parallel Cousin	Affine	Clansman	Non-relative Fellow Villager	Known only through school brother connection
LUO	6	2	2	1	-	1	-	-	-
LUHYA	4	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
ACHOLI	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
LANGO	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
LUGBARA	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
KIGA	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
ALUR	1	-	1						
JANAM	1	1							
TOTAL	25	9	6	3	1	2	2	2	-
Centralised Tribesmen									
GANDA	10	2	1	3	2	-	-	1	1
TORO	5	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-
NYORO	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
SOGA	5	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	25	6	3	8	4	-	-	2	2

In Table VI, all migrants and household heads are male. All migrants are now residents of Naguru and Nakawa. In most cases, household heads had first been contacted by the prospective urban migrant from the rural district. The categories of clansmen and fellow villager may coincide, especially among segmentary lineage tribes where clans are largely localised. But this is not always the case.

There are, of course, many variable factors determining the selection by new migrants of initial urban hosts. I give this simple table, based on a rather small sample, merely to indicate the lesser utilisation of agnatic ties in a single context by migrants of the four centralised tribes.

Relationship categories which are defined by the patrilineal principle are full or half-brother, close agnate, clansman, and, in a converse manner, affine. There is an intermediary category between close agnate and clansman, which I might have called recognised agnate, which was not, however, significant in this sample. I have regarded the range of close agnates as extending to those having the same paternal grandfather, and clansmen as having no more than putative genealogical links.

The maternal links are illustrated by the categories of cross-cousin and matrilateral parallel cousin. The mother of one of the cross-cousins is his point of reference for the relationship, though, for the other, it is his father who is the point of reference. Six of the eight migrants from centralised tribes who first lodged with a cross-cousin in Kampala had utilised the maternal link, by

contacting and lodging with their mother's brother's son. The other two lodged with cross-cousins who were more distant genealogically.

All matrilateral parallel cousins indicated are mother's sister's sons. Only one such link was recorded among the twenty-five segmentary lineage tribesmen while there were four such links among centralised tribesmen.

In all, nineteen out of a possible twenty-five patrilineal links were utilised by migrants of segmentary lineage tribes. The corresponding proportion for migrants of centralised tribes was nine. Even allowing for such other variable factors as the availability of particular kinsmen in Kampala, and for the small sample, this discrepancy is probably large enough to be of descriptive significance.

Loosened agnatic solidarity, lesser stability of conjugal and family relationships, and irrecoverable bridewealth very much determine/the different status enjoyed by Ganda, Toro, Nyoro and Soga women to that occupied by women of segmentary lineage tribes.

h) Status of Women

In the cases of the Ganda clerk and Soga mechanic this difference was immediately obvious. Kato, a middle-aged man who may be supposed to be a little more conservative than younger men of his tribe, expressed concern that his two independently earning daughbers had non-Ganda men friends. He would presumably be equally or more concerned if they married any of them, which, according to the figures I have on inter-tribal marriages among Interlacustrine Bantu (see page 136) was certainly not unlikely. There was no question in

his mind, however, of the mobilisation of any kinsmen, agnates or others, to thwart such a possibility. The Soga's case illustrates the lesser significance of bridewealth payments among centralised tribespeople. The girl's brother and parents accepted Nyajonyintono as a brother- and son-in-law not so much in order to fulfil a contractual agreement as to continue a prior, affectively based relationship with him.

The high bridewealth payments among segmentary lineage tribesmen are recoverable in the event of the girl proving barren, leaving her husband, or in some way defaulting in the marital role expected of her by interested agnates and affines, whose stakes are material as well as social. The girl's agnates bring pressure to bear on her to keep the marriage intact. These pressures are also applied by interested agnates in town on the wife of a customary tribal marriage, who is living with her husband in Kampala and for whom bridewealth has or is being paid. As shown in the initial case, clansmen and subtribesmen, in addition to close agnates, have ideological reasons for applying sanctions. These sanctions apply to the unmarried girl who has eloped to Kampala as well as the unfaithful wife living there. These same groups may act as negotiators for a girl's parents and demand adequate bridewealth from the man with whom she has eloped, or they may arrange a marriage for her.

Girls and wives from the centralised tribes enjoy relatively independent status. I have already explained loosened agnatic solidarity and less stable conjugal and family relationships as

causal factors. The irrecoverable nature of bridewealth is, perhaps, the dominant factor, particularly among the Ganda. Often the value of the bridewealth is slight or nominal. Some families, however, particularly those whose daughters are highly educated, regard bridewealth as a definite form of bride-purchase and elevate its value accordingly. Yet it is still not recoverable. On the other hand, many educated girls resist the institution of bridewealth and prefer an independent urban life to customary marriage. Even many for whom "ring" marriages may be arranged are attracted by the chance of earning and living in Kampala relatively independently of familial control.

As for many Ganda, Toro bridewealth is not of great value. In 1951, Taylor found the major cash amount to be only Shs.118/-.[1] Ganda and Toro daughters may be appointed as heirs. Like the Ganda, there are many Toro women in Kampala who have not been prevented by their families, agnates, clansmen or other kinsmen from entering wage or self-employment in town. In view of the low or irrecoverable bridewealth, an unmarried girl who earns in town is of more economic value to her family at home than she is married, when, even if she continues in employment, a much smaller proportion of her income will be due to her parents and younger siblings.

I have stated that of the women who have made their own ways to Kampala, or who are employed and in some way independent of kin and prospective husbands, the vast majority are Ganda, Toro and Haya.

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[1] B.K. Taylor, 1950-51, E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper.

Men from other tribes often indiscriminately refer to such women as prostitutes (using the Swahili term, malaya) and it is true that most prostitutes are of these three tribes, though mostly Haya. However, many Ganda and Toro women are employed in other occupations such as selling at market stalls, "hairdressing", domestic service, school teaching and office work.

The independent status of these women, and the negligible value or irrecoverability of any prospective bridewealth to a family or lineage preclude or at least do not make it worthwhile for an unmarried or adulterous woman's network of agnates or affines in town to mobilise themselves with the object of sending the woman home. This idea to most Ganda and Toro men, though it may be favoured, seems ludicrous in practice. There is no doubt that most of these men envy the greater control exercised by the Kenya peoples, the Uganda Nilotes, the Lugbara and the Kiga over their women. All urban tribal, subtribal, or clan associations, where they exist, of these latter peoples stress in their constitutions, whether written or spoken, clauses to the effect that unmarried and unaccompanied women and adulterous wives of their tribe living in Kampala should be sent home. They also state that girls who are living with their fathers in the town and who are impregnated there, are to be married in traditional manner at home with the boy responsible if he can be found and if he is of the girl's tribe, which, among these peoples, he usually is.

The status of the married and unmarried woman among the Nyoro and Soga is not so undefined as among the Ganda and Toro, though it

still contrasts markedly with that of a woman in any of the segmentary lineage societies. A small but substantial number of unmarried Soga women live in Kampala. Beattie, from fieldwork conducted in 1951-2, put Nyoro bridewealth at no more than Shs.300/-.[1] Fallers, for the Soga, from fieldwork carried out in 1950-2, states that the bridewealth "may vary from one or two goats or a few shillings to as much as 800 shillings". He refers to marriage as "a contract between the father or guardian of the bride and the bridegroom", not, it may be noted, between two agnatic minimal lineages as would be expected among the Luo, Luhya, Uganda Nilotes, Samia, Kiga and Lugbara. He also says that, "Soga custom does not lay down.... that certain kinsmen of the bride must receive a share of (the bridewealth)".[2 and 3]

In the same article, stress is placed on the high divorce and separation rate in Busoga, and with a high level of sophistication in the area, this indicates how successful women may be if they wish to strike out independently. Among the Nyoro, too, an association called the Banyoro Bagungu Ladies Committee, based at Hoima, the main town of Bunyoro, has largely concerned itself with the abolition of the institution of bridewealth and with establishing recognised

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[1] J.H.M. Beattie, 1958, Nyoro Kinship, Marriage, and Affinity, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

[2] L.A. Fallers, 1959, Some Determinants of Marriage Stability in Busoga, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

[3] M.M. Edel, 1957, The Chiga of Western Uganda, O.U.P for I.A.I. The constrasting situation for the Kiga is stated by Edel thus, "Negotiations for the marriage are carried on between the families, not between the bride and groom; who have no say in the matter at all." Earlier on page 8, she states, "The structure of Chiga society is polysegmentary. It is based on a fissionary lineage system similar in many ways to that which has been described for the Nuer and other peoples in northern East Africa."

equal status for women. It reflects a trend to which more and more Nyoro women are subscribing.

Thus, as a result of the combination of factors described, and to varying extents, the activities of Ganda, Toro, Nyoro, and Soga women in the town do not bring about purposive mobilisations of their respective agnatic or other kin networks in Kampala. This situation contrasts markedly with that of the more highly segmentary lineage societies discussed, among whom at home in the tribal district, an extended family, corporate lineage, or, for ideological reasons, clan and subtribe, have vested interests in the behaviour of their women, married or otherwise, and among whom this common interest equally affects members of these groups in town.

I have stated that some girls of centralised tribes come to Kampala independently of parents, siblings and kinsmen. Through the gradually developed liaison I have referred to, many have estblished permanent urban marital relationships with men of their own or other tribes, so that a girl's brother who comes to Kampala some time after his sister, may be introduced to a brother-in-law whom he has never met and about whom he has perhaps known nothing. In other instances a girl may be lodging with her full-, Half-, or classificatory brother in Kampala and, independently of his control or advice, establish these premarital and more enduring relationships herself. Centralised tribesmen, as brothers and fathers of such girls, often disapprove of such freedom from control but rarely do anything about it. But some men have rationalised the situation by citing a greater domestic value in girls who have come to and lived

independently in town. In a conversation between two workmates, both living at Nakawa, a Nyoro expressed this view after a typical pronouncement on the matter by a Luo.

We Luo don't marry girls whom we find in the town unless their parents or strict brothers are with them and have looked after them. We fear disease and do not like a girl who may have "roamed" in the town with many men and who will run away when you try to keep her as your wife. I refer mostly to these Bantu women, but even some Luo girls could get like this if their parents and brothers did not control them.

Nyoro: I find it preferable to marry a girl whom I have found in the town because she is used to life in the town and will not run away when you marry her, whereas a girl who is brought from home will find her eyes opened up and will want to enjoy all she sees in the town and will leave you.

This rationalisation by some centralised tribesmen of the situation in which their women in town enjoy relatively few parental and sibling restrictions, reflects a conscious inability to alter the situation. It validates, too, the notion that the lesser economic significance of their institution of bridewealth does not provide an incentive for actively attempting a change. Furthermore, this lesser significance of the institution of bridewealth reaffirms the fluidity in regulations to which I have referred, regarding the custody of children in the event of marital disruption. Whereas among the segmentary lineage tribespeople payment or non-payment of bridewealth definitely determines to which spouse and kinsmen children go when a marriage is dissolved, among the centralised tribes, especially when one or both partners are centred in the town,

custody of the children appears largely a matter of private agreement (or disagreement) between husband and wife.

Kalisa, a Nyoro, met a Nyoro woman in Kampala, lived with her for two years and regarded her as his wife. She bore him a child. Her parents asked Kalisa for what he thought was the exorbitant demand of Shs.600/- bridewealth. He refused to pay this and the girl, more out of loyalty than submission to her parents, left Kalisa. However, she asked Kalisa to keep the child at his parents' home so that, childless, she would stand a better chance of remarrying.

In a parallel case concerning a segmentary lineage tribesman, there was no such fluidity in regulations regarding the custody of children.

A Lango living in Nakawa came to know very well an unmarried Lango woman lodging with her brother on the same estate. The woman started living with the man, who agreed with her brother and parents to pay bridewealth for her in the customary manner. He paid a special visit to her parents at home. The wife was by this time some months pregnant. After about eighteen months, the husband was unable to meet some continual and high bridewealth demands. At the behest of her parents, brothers and some clansmen in Nakawa, the woman and child returned home. The Lango accepted without protest the fact that he had lost custody of his wife and child until such time as he could recontinue his bridewealth obligations. This he was able to do after six months. His wife and child then returned to him at Nakawa.

These contrasting conceptions of female status are reflected in the relatively high proportion of urban inter-tribal marriages occurring among centralised tribespeople and the lower proportion among segmentary lineage tribespeople.

Of a random sample of 140 couples drawn from Nakawa and Naguru, some of whom were subject to particularly close observation, 27 constituted inter-tribal and 113 intra-tribal unions of some socially acknowledged permanence. Although 204 of all spouses were persons of segmentary lineage tribes, only 10 were partners to an inter-tribal union.[1] These few, and also others who were partners to temporary inter-tribal unions, were openly condemned by fellow tribesmen, often through the medium of a tribal association. Among centralised tribespeople, who constituted a larger proportion of inter-tribal marriages, there was virtually no condemnation by fellow tribesmen of the union, and more freedom of choice had been available to women as well as men in selecting partners. Most intra-tribal marriages recorded were between persons of the same segmentary lineage tribe.

The incidence of separation and divorce is much lower for marriages between persons of the same or related segmentary lineage tribe than for marriages in which one or both partners is of a centralised tribe. In this limited sense, marriages between persons of the same segmentary lineage tribe are the most stable. Most married residents of Naguru and Nakawa are segmentary lineage tribesmen, so that, by dint of numerical preponderance, a further general feature of Naguru and Nakawa's populations is their relative stability of marriage. This contrasts with the general instability of marriage in the suburbs of Kisenyi and Mulago, in which the less stable urban systems of marriage of the Ganda and Toro, in particular, prevail.

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[1] These figures do not include termporary unions, the much greater proportion of which were constituted by couples of centralised tribes

i) Urban Groups and Sanctions on the Individual

Some of the general differences in rural social organisation between centralised and segmentary lineage societies which I have discussed may be compared and listed as follows:

Centralised tribes	Segmentary lineage tribes
Low degree of lineage and clan localisation.	High degree of lineage and clan localisation.
Low bridewealth, not generally recoverable, not regarded as the bridewealth of the bride's brother, and not providing a basis for common action among brothers and other agnates.	High bridewealth, serving as guarantee and recoverable, regarded as bridewealth of bride's brother, provides a basis for common action among agnates.
Relatively independent status of unmarried, and in some cases, married women, and their lesser social and real value to agnates.	Restricted status of unmarried and married women and their high real and social value to agnates.
Inheritance is preferential. Usually the eldest son receives a substantially larger proportion of his father's property than do the other siblings. But the father may choose another son as heir. Daughters and granddaughters may inherit.	Inheritance is shared more or less equally among brothers, the eldest receiving only a slight advantage. Daughters do not inherit.
Tribal custom of stratification largely based on de facto freehold land tenure.	Egalitarian ordering and conception of clan and lineage groups, with individual access to land vested within such groups.
The local authority head is an agent of the centralised government and is unrelated by kinship to the majority under his jurisdiction.	There is no single local authority head. Authority roles are ascribed to elder consanguines.

These factors largely account for the formation of urban groups of differing specificity.

Among the uncentralised, highly segmentary lineage tribes referred to, lineages and clans at home are frequently localised and corporate, and there are rural interests which are common to urban and rural-dwelling members of th lineage or clan. These interests spring from the status, and social and real value of women to the lineage, the corporate possession of land, shared inheritance, and subjection to common local authority in otherwise egalitarian societies. Specific groups of actual and putative agnates living in town may be mobilised around any of these interests as they may occur.

Among the centralised Interlacustrine Bantu referred to, the comparable factors are a lesser degree of lineage and clan localisation at home, a different value of women to the lineage, preferential inheritance, and patterns of individual land tenure. These appear all derived from or, at least, related to the particular established tribal hierarchy. These factors do not provide the common interests among agnates necessary for the specific and regular mobilisation of urban groups.

Mutual aid obtaining between urban migrants of centralised tribes is likely to be more diffuse and less connected with life in the rural home. It is unlikely to be sought from agnatic much more than from matrilateral members of the general urban network. The persistence in town of effective but loose-knit bilateral kin networks inhibits the development of specific urban groups or at least does not delineate them as clearly as among segmentary lineage tribesmen.

The more highly corporate the group, the greater is the reciprocity of obligations between its members. Default in performance of these

obligations invokes the application of negative sanctions by fellow members of the group. I refer to the existence and mutual acknowledgement of these obligations and sanctions among group members as defining the group's solidarity.

Thus, there is greater solidarity felt and exhibited in the urban groups of segmentary lineage tribesmen than in those of centralised tribesmen.

Ideally, there are levels of intensity of solidarity which correspond with the pyramidal structure of a segmentary lineage society. At the lowest level, the members of a lineage find their strongest obligations to each other and, at home, may act in concord against an adjacent lineage of comparable size over land, bridewealth cattle, or other causes of disputes. If of the same clan, however, members of the two lineages may act together in defence of some transgression by another clan. The solidarity of clan members is particularly strong in town and the intensity of mutual aid between its members is often expressed through a formally constituted clan association, thus forming a second level of solidarity. In the town, too, a clan association may exhibit rivalry with another clan association.

Furthermore, the Luo and Luhya are internally divided into sub-tribes. There are some 24 sub-tribes among the Luhya and 34 sub-tribes among the Luo. In Kampala East, there are subtribe associations among the Luyha and Luo which are primarily concerned with the playing of soccer within respective tribal leagues. The ritual and fervour surrounding these inter-subtribe soccer matches

reflects and affects the behaviour of members of these units one against the other and so constitutes a third level of solidarity. For the other segmentary lineage societies there are no units structurally comparable to subtribe, so that it is less easy to speak of this level of solidarity. The third or fourth level of solidarity refers to that of the whole tribe and is evident in situations of competition, conflict or co-operation with other tribes. These levels of solidarity will be discussed further in the chapter on associations.

Because every member of a segmentary lineage tribe must base his behaviour towards fellow-tribesmen at one or other of these levels of solidarity, I refer to the solidarity of the particular tribal collectivity as internally differentiated. The norms of the collectivity are highly maintained and restrict the urban migrant's range of choices of action. This is not to say that new urban roles which conflict with what are regarded as tribal role-expectations will not be undertaken by members of the collectivity nor that behaviour which is individualistic will not be attempted. However, since such roles and behaviour are seen as disruptive of the collectivity's solidarity and entail subsequent negative sanctions, the migrant who does attempt them is a minority person, regarded by members of the collectivity as a deviant. This deviance may however be compensated for by the deviant's stressing of allegiance to the collectivity. Some past chairmen of the extensive Luo and Abaluhya unions do not conform to certain widely-held tribal role-expectations but, because of their sometimes merely nominal leadership of their

respective collectivities, are excused their deviance. Theirs could be referred to as acceptable deviance. Other highly successful men from these and other segmentary tribes have not exhibited any nominal allegiance at all and are wholly condemned, informally as well as formally, by their tribesmen. When the Kenya peoples in Kampala protested against alleged discrimination[1] in employment they also condemned those high-status and influential tribesmen who did not appear to support them in their protests. This is unacceptable deviance. Similarly, at lower levels, ordinary urban migrants who wish to deviate slightly or greatly from tribal role-expectations are generally careful to select roles constituting acceptable deviance, i.e. by compensatory nominal behaviour, in preference to unacceptable deviance.

Solidarity does of course obtain between members of the centralised Bantu tribes but, in the absence of an agnatic principle strong enough to delineate and specify groups clearly, it is not internally differentiated and is generally less intense. A certain diffuse solidarity exists among the Ganda in Kampala concerning help in getting jobs. It reflects a reaction on their part to the large numbers of "foreigners" employed in Kampala, for whose clerical and skilled positions larger numbers of Ganda are competing. Again, it appears that there is a Buganda-wide solidarity with respect to the

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[1] In January 1963, the Uganda Kenya African Union spoke out against what they considered was blatent discrimination in the employment of Kenyans in Kampala and other Uganda towns. They claimed the discrimination was inspired by the Uganda government. The latter replied that it seemed justifiable to give Ugandans preference for jobs in their own country.

position of the Kabaka. Since, however, this does not give rise to the common binding interests of smaller groups of kin and clan within the collectivity and so lacks the pyramidally constituted solidarity of the segmentary lineage societies, it is unlikely to affect much the behaviour of the ordinary urban migrant of the tribe. To this may be added disruptive issues as suggested by the Wawejjere movement[1], divided opinion over the prospects of Buganda's integration into the proposed East African Federation[2], and, among all the centralised Bantu, the general absence of bases for common action, already referred to, deriving from the positions of women, land and sibling group, and from the lesser degree of clan and lineage localisation and corporateness.

As I indicated earlier, the stronger sanctions to which a migrant from a segmentary tribe is likely to be subject are applied not only by the migrant's urban group of close agnates but also by unrelated tribesmen in town, on the ideological pretext of acting in the interests of the whole tribe. Their formal application may be through tribal and, more particularly, clan associations. But unrelated tribesmen may also condemn behaviour and attempt to apply sanctions informally.

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1 This movement, which was of very recent origin, purported to represent the "common man" in Buganda and protested against certain aspects of the Ganda land tenure system.

2 Paradoxically, since much of this issue centres around the Kabaka's position in the Federation as against greater economic benefits for the people, the Kabakaship, inspiring solidarity, seems almost disruptive of it.

Washika, a Luhya living at Naguru, had been in Kampala since 1949. He used to work for Uganda Transport Company and, by travelling a great deal, earned a fair wage in addition to tips. He was dismissed by the company and, by only getting an inferior job as a driver's mate, experienced a drastic reduction of income. He had always refused to marry so that his tribesmen colleagues had given up trying to persuade him, saying, "Washika will never marry now". Furthermore, he was regarded as a heavy drinker and it was common knowledge that he had always spent nearly as much as he earned on "roaming" with women and prostitutes. He had constantly refused to join his tribal subtribe association in town and, anyway, did not heed their requests for better behaviour. Washika rarely went to his rural home but when he did, it was said he would never dare visit his wazee[1] since they had heard of his misdemeanours in the town "and he would feel shame before their anger". There was speculation as to how he would eventually fare when he was too old for work.

His two sisters, moreover, were both in Kampala East and were reputed to be prostitutes. One of them was particularly notorious in this respect and "even associated with a European". Washika, as elder brother, was regarded as responsible for checking their behaviour, but it was considered that he himself needed correction.

Washika had a younger brother lodging with him for most of his later years in Naguru. This younger brother went to a Senior Secondary School in the city and was studying for his Cambridge School Certificate. Washika and other siblings paid his school fees. But the boy failed his examinations. He was also accused of impregnating the daughter of a Samia[2] at Nakawa but, after failing his examinations, left for Nairobi to get a job, never accepted responsibility, and, anyway, claimed his education put him at too superior a level to consider the girl as a wife. Though the girl herself was admitted to be rather coquettish, the boy was condemned

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[1] Swahili term meaning more than just parents, and extending, in this case, to a large number of paternal uncles, aunts and grandparents of the minimal or minor lineage.

[2] Culturally and linguistically related to the Luhya and sometimes regarded as a subtribe.

not so much for refusing to accept responsibility for the girl's condition as for somehow using his achieved education for extending the social distance between himself, the girl's father and sympathetic kinsmen and colleagues of the latter. He could, at least, they said, have offered compensation to the girl's father. By not doing so he had acted 'proudly'. Contacting him, which would have to be done initially through his unpopular and unreliable brother, Washika, was pointless unless the boy himself desired to negotiate.

The whole chain of events and the family and girl involved in them were regarded as a slur on the reputation of Luhya in Kampala East, but people could no more than attempt to control the events through sanctions of disapproval.

This case is outstanding in that it is often brought up by Luhya in Kampala East when they wish to illustrate how urban life may lead to the moral degradation of fellow-tribesmen. Among urban-dwelling people of Washika's subtribe it may eventually hold something of the qualities of a myth.

This case contrasts with the initial one in this chapter in that Washika and his siblings do not fulfil their respective role-expectations. Washika was guilty on four counts: remaining unmarried; not joining his subtribe association; not controlling his sisters' behaviour; and allowing his brother to 'roam' instead of encouraging him to study for an examination. The brother was guilty of using his higher status to escape from obligations consequent upon his making a Samia's daughter pregnant. Washika's sisters were condemned for their shamelessness, though not as much as were their brothers, since, being women, their activities were held to be so much the responsibility of brothers. The notoriety of this case and its recounting by fellow tribesmen, unrelated and perhaps even unknown to Washika,

exemplifies the concern by members of the collectivity for behaviour which goes against the norms and constitutes unacceptable deviance. One may speculate that, had the educated brother offered compensation to the girl's father, he might have been excused the more normal requisite of marrying her on the grounds of his claim that she was too inferior for him, and so would have been allowed to defect from an expected course of action. This would have constituted acceptable deviance.

The fact that in this case the sanctions to anormative behaviour were ineffective and that, because of this, the case was outstanding, conversely illustrates that in such situations sanctions are likely to have some effect upon persons' actions. This appeared so in the initial case when I described how common interests mobilized urban agnatic groups. It would appear so, too, when unrelated tribesmen, acting according to the normative demands of the collectivity, attempt to correct deviant behaviour. Though, as one might expect, unrelated tribesmen will in most cases be less able to direct individual actions than relatives. That is to say, the sanctions applied by representatives of the collectivity are weaker than those applied by the migrant's kin, especially agnates.

Nevertheless, the sanctions and general control exerted over members of the segmentary lineage tribes are greater than those applying to people of the centralised tribes.

Among the centralised peoples there is in the first place a lack of the bases for common action among agnates relating to the positions of women, land inheritance and authority. Clans are

dispersed. Within a few generations participation in a cash-crop economy has greatly increased. Sons have attempted to emulate fathers and brothers by "buying" land on which to grow cash-crops. With the subsequent spatial separation of sons from fathers and of brothers, there is sometimes no local and corporate agnatic unit at home beyond the primary family.

As illustrated in the urban conjugal, affinal, fraternal, and general agnatic relationships of these peoples, urban groups are not significant as determinants of behaviour through the application of either negative or positive sanctions.

But, however vaguely delineated these urban groups are and however much they are intermeshed to form a general network of bilateral kin for any ego, they do provide for most new urban migrants the only personal contacts and norms of behaviour with which they are initially familiar. The longer the migrant lives and works in town and the more his associates spill over into other tribes and more novel spheres of activity, the greater becomes his awareness of the heterogeneity of norms peculiar to urban society. Urban status systems are the ordered aspects of this heterogeneity.

If the solidarity of a migrant's kin and tribal groups is strong, as for segmentary lineage tribesmen, his apparent defection from such groups is regarded by other members as likely to disrupt it, and negative sanctions are brought to bear on his deviance.

Urban social mobility incorporates the achievement of alien, extra-tribal statuses and constitutes such deviance. The urban migrant of a segmentary lineage tribe who aspires to higher status

is thus required to manipulate very carefully his position in groups of kin and fellowtribesmen in order to evade or mitigate the force of negative sanctions. He must select between those roles which may be discarded or retained, and between those new roles which may be played overtly or discreetly.

The comparable group solidarities among centralised tribesmen are less strong, and a migrant's out-group orientation is less likely to evoke negative sanctions. He need be less selective about which roles he discards or retains in his attempts to achieve higher urban status.

For all urban migrants, the tribal order provides an initial and basic reference group, or overlapping series of such groups. These groups are starting points for greater urban participation. The local and civic orders are in some parts removed and in some parts connected with the tribal order. Thus, there are neighbourhood and wider local groups in which the relations of kin and fellowtribesmen are significant in some contexts but not in others. There are what Weber has called status-groups including sectional and local elites, membership of which is regarded as conferring prestige. In urban society, generally, the composition of these latter groups is determined by the socio-economic status of members. In these groups, too, kin, tribal, neighbourhood and local relations may be more or less significant.

All these groups may overlap in their personnel. An ego's general urban network includes persons variously drawn from any number of these groups. Each group's members, by definition, have expectations of each other. Each constituent member of a network,

therefore, has obligations to numerous groups which may or may not conflict with his obligations to the central ego. Such conflicts are presumably most felt where group solidarities are greatest.

CHAPTER III

THE LOCAL ORDER: CONCEPT OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

Anthropoligists are used to writing about the ways in which patterns of local residence affect and reflect kinship and tribal structures. The emphasis is usually on a single tribe in its rural homeland.[1]

In any African town mostly composed of migrants these features have to be reconsidered. Kampala exhibits the usual comparatively high urban population density, an admixture of different tribespeoples, and cross-cutting categories based on socio-economic achievement. People living together may be of different tribal origins and belong to different socio-economic categories.

Though there is, as everywhere, a tendency for persons of different socio-economic categories to live in distinctive areas, disparities inevitably occur, especially, as I illustrate, at Naguru and Nakawa. Different tribespeople might normally choose to live in separate clusters, but this, too, is not possible at Naguru and Nakawa.

I describe how tribal and socio-economic differences affect neighbourhood norms and patterns of residence among the people of Naguru and Nakawa. As will become clearer, choice and implications of residence by a townsman contribute significantly to his urban status image.

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[1] J.H.M. Beattie, 1960, Bunyoro, An African Kingdom, New York, Henry Holt, for a comprehensive chapter on neighbourhood in a rural context.

The most notable general feature of the local order is that the distinction between the urban groups of segmentary and centralised tribespeople discussed in the last chapter has much less significance as a distinguishing criterion of role definition.

In this chapter I define and discuss relationships of what I call the neighbourhood unit. In the next chapter I discuss these relationships in the context of what I call, after Epstein, the locality.

a) Defining the Neighbourhood Unit

Face-to-face relationships directly deriving from common residence in an urban local group can be considered on two extreme scales.

On the narrowest scale are the daily relationships of members of a small group of houses, closely situated to each other. The role-expectations typical of these frequent relationships are based to a large extent on personal characteristics.

On the widest scale are the more irregular and much less frequent relationships of persons resident in a relatively large locality. Characteristic of these relationships is their categorical basis. That is to say, distinctive tribespeople constitute separate categories of interaction, while a person's own tribe constitutes anything from a close-knit to loose-knit collectivity, or group in the general sense.

In the more frequent and regular relationships, persons assess their behaviour towards each other by subordinating the categorical or tribal membership of role-partners. Role-expectations are

increasingly based according to the knowledge of a partner as a person. Yet, as will be shown, even within this particularistic situation universalistic elements of behaviour are discernable.

These daily relationships are mostly typical of small neighbourhood groups. These adjacent and overlapping small groups of houses and people exhibit common aspects of social relationships. I refer to such a group as the neighbourhood unit and shall define it in more detail.

An arbitrary number of neighbourhood units constitute a locality. In towns, localities are usually statutory areas appropriately named, though they may vary in size. I have already distinguished the larger areas of settlement incorporating such localities in Kampala.

The most affluent and high status persons live in the city in areas like Kololo and Nakasero. Naguru and Nakawa accommodate the greater number of the developing clerical and artisan categories. The bulk of the town's unskilled labour force live in the suburbs.

A significant feature of settlement in these latter areas is that, since their growth is spontaneous and largely uncontrolled, it has been possible for residential tribal clusters to establish themselves. At the commercial and retail trade centres of these suburbs, population, it is true, tends to be ethnically mixed. But outside these centres, members of a tribal group find security in an alien environment by living in clusters. They may elect their own headman and conform in their behaviour. In these areas the concept of neighbourhood is extended to find its primary expression in the interaction of adjacent different tribal groups with

intervening centres of trade.[1]

In the housing estates of Kampala East, I have stated that houses are allocated not according to tribe, but according to an individual's position on the waiting list, and according to his economic status. Neighbourhood therefore finds its primary expression in the interaction of near individual households which are not necessarily of the same tribe.

I now define the neighbourhood unit characteristic of the estates, restating that it must be distinguished from the immediate locality.

The immediate locality is taken to refer to any one, or recognisably distinct part of the estates in Kampala East. Each estate has its own Tenants' Association which, as a common interest association representing the views of the tenants, serves to establish the estate's individual identity and so diacritically marks it off from adjacent or nearby estates. In addition to this there are socio-economic residential differences between the estates. Whereas one may cater largely for the managerial, clerical and artisan 'class', another may cater for a substantial number of unskilled and semi-skilled persons. Locality is thus seen in the way in which residents may evaluate themselves according to the estate on which they live. It is more prestigeful to live on one estate than on another. Cliches such as "the prostitutes of Kiswa", "the porters of Nakawa" and "the big men (or clerks) of Naguru"

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[1] P.C.W. Gutkind, 1962, Accommodation and Conflict in an African peri-urban Area. Anthropologica, N.S. Vol.IV, No.1. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

illustrate the mutual accordance of such prestige according to locality. Furthermore, many tenants subscribe to the recognition of these residential differences by moving to a more affluent group of houses or estate in an attempt at social elevation. Movements of this kind involve changing membership of neighbourhood units.

Though there is considerable variation, a neighbourhood unit may be defined as consisting of up to and no more than twenty juxtaposed and on-facing households. Neighbourhood units are thus sub-divisions of the administrative divisions of each estate which I described in the Introduction.

Physical factors such as the size of a house and its closeness to other houses clearly affect the initiation and maintenance of neighbourhood relationships. Thus, in some parts of the affluent estate of Naguru, juxtaposed but detached houses, with private gardens and hedges between them, make for less easily initiated and maintained neighbourhood relationships than in some parts of the Nakawa estate, where small, four-terraced houses, arranged closely to each other in an on-facing square, not only facilitate but virtually enforce quick and frequent neighbourhood relationships.

For the moment, however, I ignore these differences since I perceive certain elements common to all neighbourhood relationships within the specified unit.

I should point out here that although it is of course impossible to draw rigid boundaries between one neighbourhood unit and another, it is usually possible to pick out some object which appears roughly to demarcate or define a neighbourhood field of interaction. A

focal point of definition is certainly the water tap, serving from ten to twenty houses and acting as a frequent, "neutral" place of gossip for women neighbours. While their wives are at the rural home, cultivating, planting or harvesting, men without younger siblings or dependent migrants lodging with them may have to collect water from the tap themselves. They may also come to regard it as a useful and fairly central point of reference for immediate neighbourhood relationships. A mango or banana tree between two blocks of houses may not seriously restrict the passage from one block to another, yet it may be taken as a delimiter of frequent, as opposed to occasional, neighbourhood relationships. Similarly, a path or a higher than average hedge between two houses may mark off one unit from another. On the other hand, a person may prefer the company of his neighbours on the other side of the path or mango tree and most of his neighbourhood relationships may be there. In this case, he may be particularly conspicuous to his immediate neighbours as one who has rejected their company. Conversely, it may have been their intention so to eject him. For all this, I consider that most so-called neighbourhood units are relatively discernible as such. They inevitably merge and overlap, yet, in addition to the physical factors of demarcation and definition, there is a tendency for a hard core of tenants, male and female, to assume some degree of stability and permanence in interaction.

Small groups, however, ill-defined their contours and in spite of changes in personnel, still constitute "the bricks of society"[1] and must be distinguished from larger social aggregates.

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[1] G. Homans, The Human Group,

b) Multi-Tribal Residence and Status Differentiation

The allocation of houses according to applicant's positions on the waiting list has the result that any neighbourhood unit is likely to be composed of householders of different tribes.

There are different grades of housing, each of which is rented accordingly, and is territorially distinct from any other. The policy of allocating houses according to economic status has the result that in any one neighbourhood unit, there will be a general parity of economic status between householders. Since, however, this parity is general and not entire, there will be a small minority of householders who are below or above the average in income. This constitutes a major status difference between the minority and majority. There are other status differences which are not necessarily coincident with that of the economic, but which derive from differences in education and 'sophistication'. These status differences are sometimes cross-cutting and may be evident in specific situations only. For instance, two men may be equally rich, though one may be fairly well educated while the other is illiterate, or, conversely two men may have reached the same level of education but may differ extremely in the extent to which they have been occupationally successful. On the other hand, since occupational, economic and educational standing generally coincide, in my areas of study at least, such status differentiation, whatever its nature, within the neighbourhood unit is likely to correspond with a division between a small minority and the majority of the householders. In other words, in one instance, ten out of eleven neighbours may earn no more

than Shs.150/- per month, while one earns Shs.300/-. In another instance, seven out of eight neighbours may earn between Shs.300/- and 400/-, while one earns Shs.125/-. However, of these majority seven, two may be illiterate, while the other five may have some education. The two illiterate may be successful traders and not need education in their work, while, the fifth, perhaps an artisan, had to be educated to be accepted for training, but now that he is qualified, no longer needs this education in his work.

Status differentiation, then, for some neighbours within the unit may be cross-cutting, though for others it may be coincidental and sharply divide rich, educated men with prestigeful occupations from poor, uneducated men with menial occupations. In either case, because of the otherwise general parity of statuses within the unit, such differentiation is likely to mark off one or a few neighbours from the rest.

Underlying these differences in status may be the difference in length of urban residence among neighbours, a feature commonly regarded as an index of urban seniority. Urban seniority and juniority in the neighbourhood unit are particularly significant measures of status ascription among women. Among men they are often more relevant outside the neighbourhood as in voluntary formal associations and, sometimes, at workplace. For most of the neighbourhood relationships I use "status differentiation" in the restricted sense, already defined, of denoting mostly socio-economic and educational differences, since it is these which appear to be prime behavioural determinants in this field.

I have introduced two features of the neighbourhood unit. These are multi-tribal residence and status differentiation. Both, in their respective forms, are products of the urban life. Status differentiation does, of course, exist in the rural tribal district, but the criteria on which it is based are, on the whole, mutually recognised, whereas in town both the criteria and their recognition are diffuse.

What, then, do these two features of the neighbourhood unit and, indeed, of the urban life at large constitute? Multi-tribalism connotes the co-existence of peoples of differing cultural modes, habits and languages. In such situations it is probably fair to assume that there is a tendency for the components of the heterogeneity, in this case the individual tribes, to solidify and entrench themselves, since, as expatriate collectivities in an alien environment, their members look to the solidarity of the "community" which is closest to them for their security. Such processes of entrenching, while indeed stressing sub-group solidarity, at the same time emphasise sub-group exclusiveness. And policies of exclusion, whether intentional or entailed, provide fertile ground for discontent and friction between the sub-groups. This at least would appear to be true for 'groups', so that in the sense discussed we can speak of the multi-tribalism common to many African towns as productive of at least potential inter-group conflict. But to what extent does this potential inter-group conflict affect the behaviour towards each other of individual members of the different groups? The face-to-face relationships of the multi-tribal neighbourhood unit enable me to attempt an answer to this first query.

In urban society where status is generally achieved and not ascribed, competition for the rights, cultural perquisites and general prestige attached to superior statuses is especially evident. For the individual, such competition is preceded by self- and alter-evaluation, which, in some cases, is accompanied either by feelings of deprivation or by concious superiority. Since the urban status differentiation already referred to is both a result of these evaluatory and competitive forces and a constant reminder to the individual of their existence, it may be fair to assume once more that potential conflict obtains between those persons so differentiated. The neighbourhood unit, again, with its sometimes cross-cutting differences of status between the few and the many, and with its relatively high frequency of individual interaction, enables a sound testing of this assumption. Testing this assumption constitutes my second query.

I may rephrase my two queries as follows: 1) to find the extent to which there is conflict between persons of different tribal groups resident in a neighbourhood unit, and to observe the norms and sanctions of behaviour which discourage such conflict; and similarly, 2) to find the extent to which socio-economic status differentiation among neighbours produces conflict, and, again, to observe the norms and sanctions which discourage it.

In considering these norms and sanctions of behaviour, I shall be describing the way neighbours act and feel they ought to act towards each other. In other words I shall be describing the concept of neighbourhood.

c) Neighbourhood Relationships

I now outline some of the regular forms of social relationships which have been obvious to me in the beighbourhood unit. Firstly, I draw on the distinction between small group relationships and dyadic relationships. The difference between these two is more than one of numerical scale, and the distinction is useful for purposes of description.

By small group relationships, I mean the interacting together of three or, usually, more persons in the neighbourhood unit. The group is regarded as having the attributes of the recruitment of its members, their more or less regular interaction, their possible dismissal, and an overall conception of self-membership. Dyadic relationships obtain between two householders, or between members of two different households in the same neighbourhood unit.

Within each of these two large spheres of relationahips, I suggest further distinctions which may be illustrated in the following scheme.

Neighbourhood Unit

A. Small group relationships		B. Dyadic relationships
1. Festive:	Individual rites of passage (birth, welcoming of new wife to the town, & death)	1. Friendship 2. Enmity
2.	Annual communal rites (Christmas, New Year, Easter, Independence Day)	
3.	Prestige parties (any weekend)	
4. Daily:	Women's gossip groups.	

Explanation of the scheme:

A. 1-3 are referred to as "festive" because the primary aim content of each event appears to be some form of celebration, either of the appropriate rite of passage or event, or, as in A.3, to honour the host responsible for the party. They are festive, too, in that they may take the form of communal beer drinking. A.4 is "daily" and is the most regular and stable of the groups discussed. Gossip is always of great sociological significance and since it is the women of the neighbourhood who are in the most intense and frequent interaction while their husbands are at work for the greater part of the day, their gossip is especially significant.

B.1, the friendship between two members of different households, applies to both men and women. But whereas a woman is likely to have a number of "special" friends in the neighbourhood unit, a man may only have one or two neighbours who are his close friends. It may even be that none of his neighbours figure among his most intimate associates. This difference between the degree to which men and women are likely to have neighbours as close friends or acquaintances is the result of a difference in the social radii of each. Most women are almost literally "confined to quarters". The "quarters" are the house where they perform their minimum household and child-rearing chores, the local market where they buy their food, and their own or an adjacent estate where they may visit a friend or relative. But for the greater part of the day, a woman's social radius circumscribes the area of her neighbourhood unit and no more. Men, on the other hand, work in and around the city. Their most frequent daily

relationships are not necessarily with neighbours but with fellow employees. Their greatest friendships may be born in the office or factory. Sometimes, however, as when two neighbours work in the same firm or Government department, neighbourhood and occupational friendships may coincide. But, on the whole, a working man's social radius circumscribes an area which goes well beyond the neighbourhood unit. But, as I shall show in chapter VIII, there are regular differences in the extent to which this is so.

B.2, the enmity between members of two different households, is typically preceded by jealousy, accusations of abuse, and general conflicts of role-expectations between two neighbours. Enemies may once, of course, have been friends, and may eventually reconcile their differences. Some rivalries, however, are of longer standing, and may intensify until a breaking point is reached. This breaking point will be discussed below.

I discuss briefly the relationships in the order shown in the scheme. I shall eventually hinge the discussion to the facts of multi-tribal residence and status differentiation.

(i) Small Group Relationships

A.1. The individual rites of passage

I begin by discussing the first of the small group relationships; the individual rites of passage. These events mark the birth of a child, the welcoming of a new wife to her husband's house in town, and death. As might be expected, the events are celebrated or mourned by immediate kinsmen in the early stages of the rite, and by fellowtribesmen friends of the man or woman in its later stages.

A Janam bought a crate of bottle beer for a party to celebrate the birth of his wife's first child. Two close kinsmen had agreed to provide malwa beer. Altogether some ten people were present at the party. Four, including two women, were kin of the wife. Four were kinsmen of the husband. And two were "respected" Jonam. One of these was a former candidate for the city council. The other was the Chairman of the estate's Tenants' Association. It was explained that the "European" or bottle-beer was really bought for the pleasure of these "respected" fellowtribesmen. No person of any other tribe was present.

The case illustrates that the celebration is essentially a ritual of kinship. The affair was arranged between the new father and his kinsmen. The unrelated fellowtribesmen were, in a sense, "honoured accretions" to the hard core of relatives and affines. The father is a qualified carpenter. He considered it a great honour to have such "big men" as these at the celebration. And in the eyes of his kinsmen and neighbours he derived much prestige from their attendance. He had, of course, to reciprocate the privilege by providing them with a crate of bottle-beer. The provision of an expensive crate of beer added to his prestige, since only a generous man of some means could afford to do this.

There is a similar gathering together of first relatives then fellowtribesmen friends when a man brings his newly married wife from the tribal district to the town. When a man dies, his wife, brothers and other kinsmen collect at his house, either to wail or to sit quietly in meditation. Usually the corpse is taken home by car, in which case those relatives who do not accompany it on its journey continue their mourning at the dead man's house, and at the same time deal with tenancy arrangements with the estate manager.

At these individual rites of passage, non-fellowtribesmen neighbours offer condolences or congratulations as the case may be. They are, however, conspicuously excluded from the hard core of mourners or celebrators. Nor, it would seem, do they expect to be asked to participate in the rite. They feel no hostility or jealousy towards a man who is celebrating the birth of a child or the arrival of a new wife, and who has around him kinsmen and fellowtribesmen enjoying his beer. Nor do they expect to be primary mourners in a dead neighbour's house. The celebration or mourning group is exclusively tribal, yet non-fellowtribesmen neighbours accept their exclusion from it, since they appreciate the intimacy of the occasion. They appreciate also its esoteric nature, possibly recognising that the appropriate behaviour attaching to any one rite varies between tribes.

A.2. The annual communal rituals

The individual rites of passage are the direct concern of kinsmen and, by extension, fellowtribesmen alone. Non-fellowtribesmen neighbours accept their exclusion from the celebration group. This situation contrasts with that of the annual communal rites. These rites refer to the festivities associated with such events as Christmas, New Year, Easter, and Independence Day. These occasions are not esoteric and in the neighbourhood unit could never be regarded as such. Each household party may consist of a man, his relatives and some unrelated fellowtribesmen. On these occasions, however, there is no excuse for not inviting one's neighbours, so that during the course of the festival day one finds a great deal of inter-participation of household parties.

Supertribal groups are particularly evident on these occasions. Acholi, Lango and Jonam may be sharing their drink and may, at least temporarily, constitute one group. Ganda, Soga, Toro and Nyoro may together constitute another group. The Kenya Luo and Luhya may for a time reconcile their conflicting political allegiances and, speaking in Swahili, celebrate together. In addition to the supertribal group is the tribally heterogeneous group, which may move from one household of the neighbourhood unit to another, or which may be sited outside the house of one particularly popular man. It is difficult for the individual householder not to extend his generosity to his neighbours at these times and equally difficult for them to refuse it. The celebrations are not about an addition or loss to a family or lineage, but concern the stressing of a solidarity which transcends the individual tribe. On Independence Day, the fervour and solidarity are national. Even the Kenyans, though expatriates, join in the celebrations of Uganda's Independence as well as inviting Ugandans to their own. The religious aspects of Christmas and Easter may bring about this non-tribal solidarity though the solidarity may be apparent without these, and on New Year's Eve common hopes and aspirations for the future unite men as members of the new society which, they will say, cannot be based on tribal prejudice and differences.

This non-tribal solidarity, then, is reflected in the proliferation of small more or less tribally mixed neighbourhood groups and contrasts with the exclusiveness of the group consisting of a man, his kin and fellowtribesmen friends. It is at these annual communal rituals that

there is a reassertion of neighbourhood norms, which stress the virtues and desirability of tribally mixed celebrations and which condemn tribally entrenched festivity.

A.3. Prestige Parties

Whatever the occasion, and whatever the tribal composition of the group celebrating it, the generous and hospitable man who is lavish in his provision of beer is a conspicuous person. In fact, it is often partly in order to be conspicuous that a man is so lavish on behalf of his guests. The occupationally superior man is, of course, the one most able to do this. Since high education and superior occupation as criteria of status generally coincide, and since in the neighbourhood unit, people are likely to fulfil these criteria in approximately equal degrees (i.e. because houses of the same rent are allocated according to economic status), such a man will be reaffirming the role expected of his total status.

However, as I mentioned above, there are the few men who fulfil perhaps only one criterion of "high" status and would not wish to be denied their fullest expression of it. Such men are likely to have high economic standing, even though their jobs are not particularly prestigeful, but are also illiterate or have little education. Highly successful traders are the best example of such persons. A tendency of these men is to give beer drinking parties to which a large number of people are invited. Most of those participating are, it is true, of the same tribe as the host, but immediate non-fellowtribesmen neighbours are welcomed, and it is clearly the express purpose of the host not to celebrate any annual or family event, but simply to

to acquire the prestige which will be accredited to him for his expenditure and generosity. In this way, the host, though lacking the education most of his neighbours have, surposses them, at least temporarily, as a public figure of economic standing and success.

The prestige party also illuminates the situation of status differentiation, since in awarding prestige to the uneducated but rich host, it also inadvertently draws attention to the man who is neither educated nor rich, and who could never afford such hospitality. On the other hand, in some cases it arouses the contempt of the more educated neighbours who scorn what they regard as the host's vain attempts at social elevation, and who may go so far as to ignore the party and any invitation to it. The party sets in train neighbours' self- and alter-evaluations of prestige and status and so generates friction in the unit. Drunkeness itself is never responsible for disputes, but at the end of the prestige party may facilitate open expression of the friction, so that quarrels between neighbours may develop. "Big men" are accused of being "proud" and "standing aloof". Lesser men are contemptuously rebuked for aspiring to social values and positions thought beyond their means. The after-effects of the prestige party emphasise the rather complex notions of any "scale of worthwhileness"[1] in town.

A.1-3 Festive Groups: Summary

The three festive groups, then, differ markedly among themselves as to their normative context. Whereas, in the individual rite of

[1] S.F. Nadel, 1952, Foundations of Social Anthropology, p.72.

passage a man has the approval of his neighbours in excluding all but his kinsmen and some fellowtribesmen from participating in the beer-drinking celebration, in the annual communal ritual a man must extend his hospitality to all neighbours irrespective of tribe, and must himself participate in their festivities. In both cases, however, the norms of behaviour for neighbours are mutually discernible and acceptable and may be said to operate effectively in reducing the potential conflict of multi-tribal residence.

In the case of prestige parties, however, the norms of behaviour are not mutually acceptable. In fact, the assertion by one person of what he thinks is the appropriate behaviour expected of him may bring about conflicting evaluations of his behaviour by others. In these parties it is status differentiation rather than multi-tribal residence which appears responsible for the ensuing conflicts between neighbours.

A.4. Women's gossip groups

As I have already said, the neighbourhood unit is more significant as a field of interaction for women than for men. Women in the town often admit to long leisure hours during the day amd may gather at a water tap or in front of a neighbour's house and gossip from early in the morning until shortly before the younger children come home from morning school.

Because of the very real threat of thieves, even during the daytime, women are wary of being out of sight of their houses, so that the tribal composition of a women's gossip group is definitely determined by the tribal composition of the neighbourhood unit.

The tribal composition of the group, in turn, determines the language of conversation, which may be Swahili, Luganda, or in the case of Nilotes, their respective dialects. Large numbers of wives and children, it may be noted here, speak fluent Swahili and Luganda in addition to their indigenous tongues. Few women speak English.

The following are paraphrases of some of these conversations:

1. A wife asked if any of the women could recommend a good African medicine to treat children's sicknesses. She said that most of the European medicines were far too expensive and, except for some fevers, did not seem effective. Another woman added that Nakawa was too wet and muddy so that there were many mosquitoes and that was why the children suffered.

2. A suggestion was made that one way of stretching one's husband's income was to buy only cheap food and to plant sweet potatoes and other vegetables in the garden for one's own use. Another woman suggested that if they stopped buying expensive items such as tea, or at least stopped having it daily, this would decrease expenditure. Yet another claimed that it was difficult not to use so much tea when one was continually having visitors.

3. The theme of expenditure on visitors cropped up elsewhere:

An "experienced" woman (i.e. one of some urban seniority) stated that when you have lived long enough in the town you begin to select those visitors who are special enough to deserve the provision of tea and food. Another agreed and pointed to those "foolish young wives" who treat all and sundry as special guests and never allow them to leave the house without having had tea or coffee. Others also wondered at the uneconomic behaviour of wives new to the town; at the way they were always off to the market. They pitied the husbands' wasted money, but said that such men are reluctant to scold their new wives.

4. There was enthusiastic agreement as to the virtues of wives trading, i.e. selling at vegetable and other stalls, and so supplementin their husbands' incomes. Some Acholi, Rwanda and Luhya observed that many Luo and some Luhya women do this sort of work and thought it was very good. Even the wives of some "big men" worked in offices in town or as teachers, someone said.

5. A Lango temporary wife (a very rare phenomenon) complained to the other women that she suspected that her Lango husband no longer had any intentions of making her his permanent wife. She was therefore worried as to what would ahppen to her as she had been with him for two years and was not getting any younger. Most agreed that the man was acting wrongly, especially as they were of the same tribe, but one quietly remarked that she had not yet born him any children and that he had to look after his own interests in this respect.

The theme of high urban expenditure is of course paramount in these conversations. Advice about how to budget or supplement one's husband's income stems from the group. Child-rearing occasionally presents problems which may be discussed by the women. The behaviour of husbands to their wives is open to criticism, but wives are not allowed to forget their own marital obligations. A distinction between "experienced" and "young" wives is held by the women and establishes a rough system of rights of arbitration according to urban seniority. In these senses the gossip group may be said to ascribe statuses and the appropriate norms of behaviour to its members.

In some neighbourhood units, however, these gossip groups harden into cliques with consequent policies of exclusion.

A certain group consisted of 3 Luo, 2 Lango, 1 Janam and 1 Rwanda. The language used in conversation was Swahili. The occupations of the husbands of all the women of the group except one Luo were clerk, salesman, carpenter, storekeeper and qualified mechanic. The remaining Luo's husband was a houseboy/cook. The latter, though his job was far less prestigeful than those of his neighbours, had free food and some clothing as perquisites. With the money thus saved he was able to buy comfortable furniture and a transistor radio. His wife in an attempt to overcome her husband's lowly occupational status, tended to brag about their material possessions and about her husband's "wealth". This evaluation of herself and her husband's social position was not accepted by the other members of the group, who pointed out that her husband was still only a houseboy/cook and uneducated, and that their own husbands had relatively skilled jobs, some of them requiring the use of English. The woman was gradually excluded from the gossip group. Following on her exclusion, attention was drawn by the two other Luo women to ghe fact that she had ceased bearing at what seemed an early age. Referring to the connection between promiscuity, including adultery, and infertility, they said she must have been unfaithful to her husband. After a series of disputes into which even the woman's husband was dragged, she and the husband deemed it better to move to another neighbourhood.

What is particularly noticeable about this case is the fact that the woman who was excluded from the gossip group was a Luo, and that, though two other women in the group were also Luo, she received no help or defence from them whatsoever. Indeed, it was the two Luo women who intensified the friction by suggesting that the woman's early cessatinn of child-bearing was due to her marital infidelity and used this fact to eject her. This illustrates that what tribal solidarity between these women exists may diminish when the issue revolves around entry into an exclusive neighbrouhood gossip group.

It may be noticed, too, that even when the women of the gossip group interact harmoniously by offering and receiving advice and by setting norms of behaviour, tribalism is not significant. Nor could multi-tribal residence be said to be responsible for intra-group conflict. In the case just described it was, again, status differentiation or at least open expression of it, which brought about the conflicting evaluations precipitating the ejection of the wife and husband from the neighbourhood unit. Throughout the description of the neighbourhood group relationships, in fact, status differentiation appeared responsible for friction between neighbours far more than the feature of multi-tribal residence. Another way of saying this is that in the intimate face-to-face relationships of a small group, ethnic heterogeneity per se is less likely to be the primary cause of conflicts within the group than the heterogeneity among its members of rights and privileges. This is especially the case in town where such rights and privileges are far more open to achiev ement than in some rural tribal districts, and where individual competition is therefore more intense. This theme may be continued in the description of dyadic relationships.

(ii) Dyadic Relationships

B.1. Friendship.

I have already mentioned how women usually appear to have a larger number of close friends in the neighbourhood unit than men. Women's friendships tend to be hedged by the jealousies typical of any small frequently interacting group, so that the friendships themselves may be broken and reconciled fairly often, and so may

oscillate between different pairs of partners. Men, on the other hand, do not alwasy interact as frequently with their neighbours, nor are they necessarily likely to have more than a few close friends in the unit. Their friends are as likely to be located outside the neighbourhood and may not know or come into contact with each other, so that jealousies between a man and his friends over their respective friendships are less obvious and less likely to cause friction. But there are differences between men in the extent to which neighbourhood associates are significant. These differences are largely commensurate with differences in socio-economic status and according to whether or not they are segmentary or centralised tribesmen. These points become clearer and are properly discussed in chapter VIII.

A woman's neighbourhood friend is any person from whom she may borrow cooking utensils or crockery when she is entertaining visitors, or food if she has run short. Membership of the gossip group does not indicate mutual friendship in this sense, since a woman does not indiscriminately ask any member of the group with whom she is in an already established relationship of reciprocity. In one case this reciprocity consisted of a Kiga wife being taught how to make mats in a local style by her Ganda neighbour in exchange for the borrowing of cooking utensils. When the Kiga had become proficient in mat making, her friendship with the Ganda wife continued and the reciprocity took other forms. In some cases friendships are established by neighbours for specific ends. In one case, a young Luo woman who was pregnant did not relish the idea of yet another

child and asked her Luo neighbours the details of a traditional technique for procuring an abortion. Her Luo neighbours thought this "immoral" and would not tell her. The woman therefore struck up a friendship with two Ganda women noted for their prowess in such matters, and, with their advice, successfully performed an abortion. In another instance, an Alur of Nakawa took a temporary wife and therefore felt obliged to find alternative accommodation for his younger brother who was lodging with him. He established a firm friendship with his next-door neighbour, a Luhya bachelor, and after some time, asked him to allow his brother to sleep at his house. When, some months later, he moved to Naguru, he invited his new neighbour, a Lugbara bachelor, round to his house for drinks. Again, after some time, he asked if his brother might sleep at the man's house. In both cases, of course, the friendships were based on reciprocity and could only be maintained as such.

If two male neighbours are employed by the same company or government department and leave for work at about the same time each morning, they are more or less forced into a friendship with each other. There are also converse instances of friends at work becoming neighbours by one of them persuading a neighbour , sometimes with a gift, to exchange houses with his friend who may be living in another estate or a different part of the town. Clearly, the friendships in such instances have to be long-standing and in fact typify the friendships between fellowtribesmen from common home-areas who may have been to school together.

But a breach of the reciprocity in any relationship of friendship may convert it to one of enmity and, indeed, many outstanding enmities between neighbours, both men and women, were once friendships. Since most women's friendships are likely to be confined to the neighbourhood unit, it is they who tend to figure in most neighbourhood enmities and disputes.

B.2. Enmity

I now describe some enmities between neighbours.

Two Luo neighbours had been friends for years. They came from the same home subtribe and had been to school together. The one had advised the other to come to Kampala and had helped him find a job in the same company in which he himself was employed. They were both semi-skilled workers and earned the same money. As unmarried men, they maintained their friendships in the town for years. Even when one of them married and succeeded in hiring a house at Nakawa, the other eventually managed to move into the same neighbourhood unit and also married. The former, however, was attempting to elevate his standard of living and had started saving in earnest, very much prompted, it seems, by his wife. The other man was less inclined to save, so that after some time there appeared a superficial but, to them, noticeable discrepancy in their standards of living and attainments. The more successful of the two friends suddenly became redundant in his work. Though of the same firm, his friend did not lose his job. The redundant man's wife accused the other couple of being jealous of their furniture, clothes and social aspirations, and of bringing about the husband's unemployment through practising sorcery. After redoubled accusations and counter-accusations and some fighting, one couple moved from the neighbourhood.

A group-leader at Nakawa reported a series of disputes between a Rwanda and a Ganda woman. The Ganda woman had persisted in teasing her Rwanda friend about her husband's menial job and wage, though, in fact, her own husband only earned Shs.50/- a month more. The Ganda wife boasted about her clothes and furniture. The Rwanda wife interpreted the persistent teasing as uncalled-for mockery and bitterly resented it. There followed a series of fights between them so that the estate manager, on the advice of the Tenants' Association, moved one wife and her husband to another group on the estate.

The wife of Jerenge, a semi-skilled Luo, was extremely jealous of the furniture and household equipment of her next-door neighbours. She involved her husband in an argument with one next-door neighbour by accusing the latter of abusing her. During the arguments, the other neighbours supported the man who had been accused. Jerenge claimed that they were supporting him simply because they and the man were educated, while he himself was not. He pointed out that he had as much money as any of them, though, in fact he had not. Eventually he and his wife moved to an area of less expensive houses where poorer and generally less educated people live.

These enmities were indirectly a result of the differences in material standards and aspirations between the disputing neighbours. More directly, they were brought about by one of the two parties feeling deprived in relation to the other, and to the neighbours of the unit at large. Women were the first to feel this relative deprivation, but on the instigation of their wives, men, too, resented being a poor or uneducated minority and acted hostilely, sometimes breaking a former friendship. In every case, the disputes were ended not by reconciliation but by one of the couples moving from the neighbourhood

This movement, which is the breaking point in the relationship, may be said to bring about a restoration of neighbourhood harmony, since, though this is not stated in the cases, neighbours would tend to cast the blame for the disturbances on the couple who had left the neighbourhood and would sympathise with the couple who had remained.

It is noteworthy that in the second case there was never any suggestion that the different tribal origins of the two women may have been responsible in some way for their conflict. It was generally recognised by neighbours and the tenants' association that the dispute was directly caused by open expression of prestige and status differences. This case is typical of most enmities between neighbours of different tribes in that the tribal membership of each disputant is regarded as either irrelevant or secondary as a cause of disputes to the expression of differing prestige awards. Sometimes, of course, a person may displace the causes of his hostility towards a neighbour by blaming the latter's different tribal origins. But this displacement is common only after a dispute is under way and, moreover, becomes inexpedient if voiced or publicly proclaimed in a multi-tribal neighbourhood.

Like friendships, neighbourhood enmities may also be purposive. One Lango confided that he had deliberately caused the eviction of his former neighbour because he wanted a fellowtribesman who was already high on the housing waiting list to live next door to him. The bringing about of a neighbour's eviction, however, is more often a means of expressing hostility. It is easily practicable against a neighbour who is a so-called illegal tenant. I have explained that an illegal tenant is one who rents a house which is in the name

of someone else, perhaps a relative or friend, who has since left. An enemy who brings about eviction remains anonymous since all he has to do is inform the estate manager of the man's illegal tenancy, and the estate manager himself sends the notice of eviction. I have recorded only a few instances of sorcery between neighbours, so that this form of eviction by anonymous neighbourhood enemies appears a common means of expressing intense hostility. It is probably more common than that of violence, which, by disclosing the identity of the enemy as well as the attacked, leaves the former open to retaliation by other members of the neighbourhood group and by the attacked himself.

d) Summary.

There are four observations to be made concerning relationships of the neighbourhood unit. These are the statement of neighbourhood norms, the common causes of disputes, the place of the neighbourhood unit in urban status systems, and the part played by wives in helping define all these factors and in redefining their own relationships with their husbands.

There were neighbourhood norms which permitted tribal entrenchments on esoteric occasions such as the individual rites of passage. On other occasions, however, inter-tribal co-operation and participation were normative. In the types of neighbourhood activity only briefly described, there was obvious implicit recognition of the requirements of behaviour in a multi-tribal residential group.

More significant in almost every respect than multi-tribal residence, however, loomed the feature of differentiated rights and privileges among neighbours. Norms of conduct appropriate to respective statuses tended to be ascribed by a fairly undifferentiated majority of neighbours, regardless of tribal membership. It was the minority neighbour, sometimes a single householder, who was the underprivileged and relatively deprived, and it was the minority neighbour, too, who was most likely to be condemned if he tried to usurp behaviour not expected of him, or if he gave vent to feelings of jealousy.

In these frequent and relatively intimate relationships the membership of a man or woman's tribal group or collectivity was less significant as a basis for his own or others' role-expectations than self- and alter-evaluations of individual prestige allocation. Disputes between members of the same tribe were within dyads or in small groups and were on such a small scale that they would not be thought of as seriously disrupting the solidarity of any part of the tribal collectivity. The Luo who are of a highly segmentary lineage tribe and who are subject to strong kinship and tribal obligations, featured in these face-to-face disputes as much as any other tribesmen. In a case given of a women's gossip group, Luo were divided in what amounted to an issue concerning membership of the multi-tribal group.

There is thus evidence for considering some disputes as specifically small-scale. The disputes described largely centred around fears by role-partners that their rights to prestige were being threatened. As a general sociological tenet, we may say that when individual

rights are threatened a common reaction in some circumstances is for the person under attack to invoke the aid of corporate groups or collectivities of which he is a member. This reaction might especially apply to men rather than women who do not share with their menfolk extensive membership in wide social groups. In rural districts such corporate groups may each consist of age-mates, agnates or other kin, clansmen or fellowtribesmen. In urban areas, too, these same groups may be summoned.

But if the disputants are of different groups there are two factors which inhibit a man invoking such aid and the group awarding it. One is characteristic of rural and urban areas alike and concerns the minuteness of the particular right threatened and of the ensuing dispute. The right may be regarded by either or both the offended and his corporate group as too insignificant to warrant group interference, which will lead too easily to inter-group conflict. In the urban community the group is additionally inhibited when the issue concerns specifically urban norms, of which members of the group often conflict in their personal evaluations. The second factor is particularly characteristic of the urban area and concerns the reluctance of corporate tribal groups to engage in open hostility with other tribal groups. The issues have to be of major significance for the tribal groups to mobilise themselves against each other in an organised manner. From this fact we may deduce the existence of a wide level of urban social control which is based on the ambivalent hostility-avoidance patterns of relations occurring in tribal heterogeneities.

When an urban migrant invokes his clansmen to help him in a dispute with a fellowtribesman of another clan, a different value comes into force and discourages an action of this kind. The value has particular urban significance and concerns the general reluctance of migrants of different clans but of the same tribe to engage in open hostilities. The reluctance is based on the view that urban tribal groups should retain their cohesion and solidarity in the face of potential pressure from other tribespeople in town, and that to disrupt this solidarity over minor issues should be avoided. Such views may or may not be rationalisations disguising a general disinclination to interfere in a small-scale dispute which concerns no more than two or a few persons, but the expression of the value is significant in itself. Clans do act as corporate groups and come into conflict, however, when an issue assumes what is regarded as major importance as in the case given in the preceding chapter and as in other cases when, for instance, accusations of clan nepotism in leadership appointments reck subtribe associations and bring about the breakaway establishment of autonomous clan associations. There is evidence, too, that the Luo, in particular, were prepared to act assa corporate tribal group and contest the alleged policies of discrimination in employment by Ganda in Kampala in 1963.

The distinction between issues of minor or major importance is, of course, one relative to the situation. But, at the level of the neighbourhood unit, the factors I have discussed generally inhibit neighbours taking what amount to no more than interpersonal disputes to their relevant corporate groups, though, as I illustrate in the

next chapter, disputes regarded as having relatively wide repercussions may be referred to these groups.

These wider scale disputes may be regarded as potentially disruptive of kin or tribal solidarity. In particular, they relate to the residential differentiation of localities and will be discussed in this context. They are neighbourhood or locality disputes and are not exhaustive of all kin, clan, and intra-tribal conflicts. The point to be stressed is the distinction in scale between the sealed-off, almost private disputes of neighbours, some of whom may or may not be kin or of the same clan or tribe, and the less self-contained disputes where one of the disputants is regarded as going against the wishes of kin, clansmen or fellowtribesmen who live in the vicinity, whether or not he also incurs the disfavour and condemnation of neighbours of other tribes.

In other words, there are small scale disputes largely confined to the neighbourhood unit in which tribal membership is more or less irrelevant to the cause and course of the dispute. There are also wider scale disputes which are regarded as having repercussions beyond the neighbourhood unit. These wider scale disputes are of two general types. One type invokes the condemnation of both fellowtribesmen (or kin or clansmen as the case may be) and non-fellowtribesmen resident throughout the particular locality. The other type of wider scale dispute invokes the condemnation of fellowtribesmen, or kin and clansmen, alone. It does not incur the disapproval of non-fellowtribesmen resident in the locality. In some cases, indeed, non-fellowtribesmen will express support for

a neighbour or resident whose kin or tribal groups regard him as a deviant.

The distinction into these two types of group-invoking disputes relates directly to the distinction in solidarities of the urban kin and tribal groups of segmentary and centralised tribespeople.

Putting it simply, the distinction also indicates different expectations of a neighbour or residant by tribe and non-tribe. Non-tribal expectations of behaviour, I have shown, are vested in and, indeed, stem from the neighbourhood unit, which is, to some extent anyway, a primary group. In keeping with a common process, the neighbourhood unit "feeds" its norms into the locality, which may be regarded, as I shall illustrate, as something of a secondary group.

Due to the administrative structure of the housing estates, kin, clansmen and fellowtribesmen who are resident on an estate are dispersed. Their corporate action takes place within the context of the estate or locality. It can hardly take place within the context of a neighbourhood unit.

At the level of locality, therefore, non-tribal norms deriving from the neighbourhood unit counternance the norms of urban groups of kin, clansmen and fellowtribesmen. The norms of the latter groups are more specifically defined and strictly sanctioned among segmentary tribesmen, who are thus most likely to experience any conflict of tribal and non-tribal norms at the level of the locality.

These statements are rather abstract and I shall indicate their empirical worth in the next chapter. It is possible, now, however, to discuss the significance of non-tribal criteria of behaviour as they were evident in the description of the neighbourhood unit.

In the multi-tribal neighbourhood unit, tribal criteria of behaviour are generally subordinated. Apparent or real differences of occupational, economic, and educational status among neighbours provide more regular criteria. The general term, socio-economic status, includes the combination of these facets. Urban status systems are basically socio-economic. The neighbourhood unit of a public housing estate is thus an essential arena of socialization for a migrant who enters an urban status system. Other such arenas are workplace, centres of recreation, and participation in formal voluntary associations. These arenas may overlap. With the exception of workplace, they are especially likely to converge in single or adjacent localities. Norms emanating from the many neighbourhood units making up a locality are not isolated from each other, even though some disputes are. Unlike the small scale disputes themselves, an individual's relationships and the norms attaching to them, are carried beyond the single neighbourhood unit of which he is a member.

There is thus a single social dimension extending from the neighbourhood unit, a primary group, to the locality, a secondary group, to the collection of ranked localities making up, say, Kampala East. Together, the latter accommodate and symbolize the strata constituting the status system. The whole dimension familiarises

the individual with this system.

The roles played by women along this dimension are most numerously and densely located in the neighbourhood unit for the reasons and in the manner I have expressed. Two factors typify any changes, however slight, experienced in their conjugal relationships.

One factor is the intense competition for prestige in which women of a neighbourhood unit are involved. Though a married man competes for prestige in other arenas as well as that of neighbourhood, he is implicated, through his wife, in the neighbourhood competition rather more than the single man. As indicated in a few of the cases described, few husbands successfully ignore these involvements. Indeed, non-involvement will be regarded as indicating that "the other neighbours" are correct in estimating his status lowly. He may become party to his wife's dispute merely in order to save face by refuting the charges made against him, through his wife, by other women.

In this desire not to lose face in the neighbourhood unit, the husband is very much dependent on the position occupied by his wife in the gossip group and other relationships. In this limited sense, a wife's behaviour has implications for her husband's status and gives her a modicum of extra influence in the conjugal role-relationship. Again, there are differences between couples of segmentary and centralised tribes in the extent of this influence.

The second factor responsible for slight change in conjugal relations concerns the extent to which groups of agnates, clansmen or fellowtribesmen are able to "survey" a wife's behaviour in certain

closed relationships of the neighbourhood unit. Members of these groups may be resident in the same locality and may easily be mobilised over such matters as a wife's adultery or a girl's elopement. But, in the more intimate relationships of women of different tribes in the neighbourhood unit, they have no direct influence since they are dispersed throughout the locality. In a case cited, a Luo woman went to some Ganda women to seek advice concerning means of procuring an abortion. Neither her husband nor any of his agnates knew of her decision.

The neighbourhood unit thus gives a wife access to other cultural or tribal attitudes and customs. Also, as I have described, it familiarises her with aspects of the urban status system, in which her husband's socio-economic position is of paramount importance to her own standing. The dispersion of her husband's and her own kin throughout and beyond the locality encourages a slight tendency to individualistic behaviour.

Among women of centralised tribes, whose urban groups are not normally mobilised around them, these factors are likely to effect less change in conjugal relations than among women of segmentary tribes, whose urban groups equate individualistic with deviant behaviour and attempt to control it.

The connectedness of a conjugal role-relationship determines the extent to which a husband responds to his wife's particular aspirations regarding participation in the urban status system. His relationships with members of his own urban agnatic, clan, and tribal groups are similarly determined by the connectedness of his

conjugal role-relationship. In chapter VIII I explore these changing relationships.

It is in other arenas of urban competition and co-operation, including that of locality, that men are able to, or are expected to, act more or less independently of women. Their relations with urban kin, tribal, and local groups are particularly important in this respect and help define their positions as individuals within both general and more specific status systems.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOCAL ORDER: CONCEPT OF LOCALITY

In this chapter I illustrate wider aspects of the local order. As distinct from the last chapter which concentrated on dyadic and small group relationships, the aspects I now describe are of much wider scale and concern the relationships of persons in the context of locality. Locality, as will become clearer, is a relative concept referring to a collectivity or group-like entity which has recognised systems of personnel recruitment, of internal and external relations, and of aims. The manifest aims are voiced through formal associations. I discuss these in Chapter VI. The latent aims are proclaimed symbolically through a ranking of groups and persons primarily according to socio-economic criteria. I discuss them in chapter VII.

It is only to a limited extent that the distinction between segmentary and centralised tribesmen is significant for relationships in the context of locality. As I suggest in chapter VII, the local order, with its emphasis on mostly socio- economic and non-tribal criteria of role behaviour, occupies a special position and has a particular function in linking segmentary tribesmen to the possibilities of achieving relative urban independence.

a) Ranked Localities

In the Introduction I described the hierarchy of localitites in which Nakawa and Naguru are placed. People move to Nakawa after a prior, and sometimes considerable, period of residence in one of the Kampala suburbs or in one of the temporary housing areas of Kiswa or Katali. From Nakawa, people may move to Naguru, from where they may eventually move to Ntinda or to one of the residential areas at the city's centre.

I have stated that locality is a relative concept, sometimes referring to a single estate, but sometimes also referring to socially recognised divisions of the estate. Thus, Upper and Lower Nakawa, and Upper and Lower Kiswa are distinguished. Physically and socially these verbal distinctions are appropriate. Persons move from Lower to Upper Kiswa. More regularly, they move from Lower to Upper Nakawa. From Upper Nakawa they may move to Naguru, and so on.

Physically and socially, also, Naguru might be expected to be distinguished into its Upper and Lower localities. Only a few residents make this distinction. Since their estate enjoys pre-eminence over Nakawa, Kiswa and most of the suburbs, one may assume that fewer Naguru residents feel impelled to make such a distinction.

However, there is internal movement from the less fashionable to more favoured areas of Naguru. Most of the prominent persons on the estate live in what might have more regularly been called Upper Naguru. Empirically, the distinction exists. But it is not generally expressed in conversation.

I describe the different conditions underlying the movement from Lower to Upper Nakawa.

As I have stated, Nakawa has come to provide housing for many workers whose skill and income is above the average level. But at the same time, a substantial proportion of household heads are unskilled or semi-skilled, or, at least, earn the wages of such.

According to Tables II (b) and III (b), pages 55 and 57, 27% of all householders earn up to Shs. 150/-. Those earning up to Shs.125/- may generally be regarded as falling into the category of unskilled. At the same time, 33% of the household population earn over Shs.200/- per month. Many of these are clerks and skilled artisans. People at Nakawa fall into the general occupational categories of clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, so that the estate's population may be said to show a marked occupational heterogeneity. Such occupational differences in the developing nations reflect often extreme differences with regard to wage structure. Elkan points this out: "A notable feature of the structure of African wages is the gap which separates the wages of skilled (he includes in this term 'clerical' and 'supervisory') and unskilled workers..."[1]. Again, such occupational differences often reflect and imply differences according to educational level.

Apart from this occupational, economic and educational heterogeneity, there is the heterogeneity of tribe and wider ethnic group.

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[1] W. Elkan, 1960, op.cit.

Some thirty-three tribes are represented at Nakawa by at least one household. Thirteen tribes are represented by more than twenty households. There are the wider ethnic divisions of Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, Bantu and Sudanic groups, to say nothing of the fact that residents are drawn from a total of six East and Central African countries. Yet Nakawa estate itself is barely an eighth of a square mile. It has an adult population of over 2,000 and a child population of over 1,000. There are 823 habitable houses and bedspaces. The demographic density of Nakawa, as in some Kampala suburbs, is therefore relatively high for the residents, who, after all, are all originally drawn from rural districts.

I repeat that there are three types of dwelling in Nakawa, each of which is rented according to general quality and amenities. The rents are Shs.23/- and Shs. 17/- for houses, and Shs.7/- for a bedspace. The three types of dwelling are in groups and are territorially distinct from one another.

The allocation of residence according to economic status means that in the groups of Shs.23/- houses, i.e. the dearest, most of the householders are above a certain arbitrary income level. In the Shs.17/- houses and the bedspaces, people are of different income levels with only a minority earning the wages of skilled or clerical workers. This division between cheaper and dearer houses, and between lower and higher income levels does not end here. Residents use the term Upper Nakawa to describe the area of Nakawa in which the 23/- houses stand, and Lower Nakawa for the rest of the estate, where the cheaper houses and bedspaces are. These English terms are used even by those who otherwide know no English.

Furthermore, Upper Nakawa does stand on higher ground than Lower Nakawa. When there is heavy rain, it runs down from the Shs.23/- houses to those below, leaving the latter often extremely muddy and the former able to dry very quickly in the sun. With rainfall all the year round in Kampala, Lower Nakawa residents complain about the mud, and even have to cope with the occasional snake brought along by the water, let alone having to tolerate the innumerable frogs which have made their homes in ruts and hollows created by the rains.

These residents constantly grumbled about the communal latrines, which served most of the "lower" groups of houses until their recent replacement by water closets. Shs.23/- houses have always had private pit-latrines.

Lower Nakawa houses are not connected to the electricity mains. Some Upper Nakawa houses are connected, and the householder is required to pay Shs.40/- deposit for his house to be supplied with electricity. He must also pay an extra shilling a month in rent for the wiring of his house.

These physical differences reflect socio-economic differences and a general difference in residential status. Renting a house in Upper Nakawa is prestigeful since it indicates occupational security and/or educational prowess. On Nakawa estate as a whole, 227 householders earn no more than Shs.125/- per month. They are generally unskilled. Their occupations include those of porter, office boy, labourer, and assistant at a market stall. Out of a total of 823 householders at Nakawa, those unskilled workers

earning up to Shs.125/- per month constitute a percentage of 27.6. Only fifteen of these poor unskilled men live in Upper Nakawa. The other 212 live in Lower Nakawa. In other words, 93.3% of all workers earning up to Shs.125/- per month live in Lower Nakawa.

The greater prestige attaching to residence in Upper Nakawa is commonly a basic motive in the movement there from Lower Nakawa. A more practical motive may be the desire for more spacious accommodation. The persons who make the movement may have achieved occupational or, though less often, educational advancement during a reasonably long period of employment in Kampala. They may be persons who came to Kampala already reasonably well educated and who first lodged with poorer, less educated kinsmen in Lower Nakawa. Or, they may be people who, because houses at Upper Nakawa were not available at the time of their application, had to make do with cheaper houses.

Of the 223 householders of Upper Nakawa, 61 made this particular move. Others moved directly from Kiswa or a suburb.

The occupational breakdown of these 61 persons is as follows:

1) Skilled or semi-skilled jobs requiring the use of English

Clerk	12	Storekeeper	3	
Salesman	2	Telephone Operator	2	
Assistant to Draughtsman	3	Others	4	TOTAL 26

2) Skilled or semi-skilled jobs not requiring the use of English

Carpenter	3	Electrician	2	
Mechanic	9	Plumber	2	
Tailor	3	Bricklayer	2	
Driver	4	Others	6	
Headman (of labouring gang)	2			TOTAL 33

3) Unskilled jobs where no English is required

Office messenger	2	TOTAL 2

The breakdown shows, as one might expect, that very few unskilled workers make the movement. The two who did are both office messengers, who often earn more than other unskilled workers like labourers or porters, and who appear to derive some prestige from working in offices rather than in, say, labour gangs.

One reason that unskilled workers do not make the movement is, of course, the allocation of houses by the estate manager according to an applicant's economic status. Unskilled workers generally earn little money and are allotted cheap houses, thought to be within their means. Another reason, which Lower Nakawa people themselves often give, and as I have shown for relationships of the neighbourhood unit, is the way in which a poor unskilled worker who does live in an area like Upper Nakawa, where most of his neighbours earn more, are more educated, and are occupationally superior, tends to resent being an unprivileged minority and may be snubbed by his "superiors" if he shows his resentment or attempts to equate himself with them.

These basically socio-economic criteria of role-expectation stem from relationships of the neighbourhood unit, yet have currency in the wider scale relationships of a locality. Conflicts in such expectations may give rise to wider scale disputes in which, once again, the tribal membership of the offender is not of particular importance. At least, people condemn his behaviour by citing reasons other than his tribal origins.

b) Wide Scale Disputes and Non-Tribal Norms

Condemnation of behaviour commonly relates to the conviction by some residents that a man who neither speaks English nor has a high prestige-bearing job, has no right to surround himself with the appurtenances of what may be vaguely termed the "Western culture" reference group. If he dresses in smart long trousers, white shirt and tie, with good black or brown leather shoes, and yet is known by his neighbours to be a porter, then his behaviour is earmarked for scrutiny. Should he appear, in his behaviour, to be at any time arrogant or self-assuming, then the sanction of neighbourhood and locality opinion may be brought to bear on him. He may be involved in disputes and may evict himself from the company of his neighbours. Gossip over any dispute may extend throughout a locality and may be cited to indicate the social worth of the locality and the way status usurpers are treated. In this way, the dispute will differ from the sealed-off dispute of the neighbourhood unit.

The conviction of behaviour appropriate to status also applies, though in diluted form, to some semi-skilled men, especially the "unqualified" artisan, that is, one without formal training. Indeed, the different expectations of behaviour illuminate an evaluation or prestige ranking of the best known occupations. Ideas as to this ranking may differ, in parts, from individual to individual, but a general pattern emerges. Of the skilled occupations, for instance, that of the clerk stands out as most highly ranked. Of the semi-skilled, that of the driver seems to

to rank highest. Occupations are evaluated in relation to their use of English as a requirement. This is seen in the sometimes marked deference in behaviour paid to a man or group of men who hold skilled jobs and who know and use fluent English. They, in turn, are expected to act with reasonable humility, exchange greetings in Swahili if neither English nor a common vernacular are known, and generally to appear gracious. To do otherwise may evoke accusations of acting proudly. In this case, however, the conviction of behaviour appropriate to status acts in reverse, that is, the accusation of inappropriate behaviour is levelled at a man who is in fact of higher socio-economic status but who acts contemptuously of poor men, who do not speak English. Such a man may react to these accusations by leaving his poorer and less educated neighbours or fellow residents and moving to a higher status locality.

A Luo had successfully built up a fleet of three taxis over a few years in Kampala. He had a low level of education but had acquired a fluent knowledge of English. Though his achievement was generally admired, his behaviour was condemned as "aloof", especially in his constant refusals to give local people free lifts, and in a tendency to speak English in the company of Swahili speakers and, sometimes, even Luo. One evening, when returning home from work with one of his taxis, he knocked down a drunkard at Upper Nakawa where he lived. The drunkard was a Gisu who, though unhurt, ululated and screamed curses at "proud Onyango". Not only Gisu but also many Luo came to retaliate against Onyango. His taxi was beaten and badly damaged. So, too, was his second taxi, which was driven in a little later. People demonstrated outside his house. The original cause of the disturbance, that is, the accident with the Gisu, lost significance as a reason behind the demonstration. The

crowd were more concerned to harangue Onyango for his generally unsociable behaviour and urged him to leave the locality. Within a day Onyango had moved to Naguru after explaining his dire position to the estate manager there. Nevertheless, Onyango's taxi clientele was and continued to be predominately Luo.

But, provided, as individuals, the English speakers and occupationally superior persons do not "stand aloof" from others too obviously, there seems to be no objection to their associating as relatively exclusive small groups. One finds, for example, small groups of clerks, draughtsmen and salesmen who are drawn from different tribes and who regularly interact in informal contexts, at beer bars, dances, and other places of recreation. Their acquaintanceship may be based on common workplace. They may use English in their work. As friends, they may communicate with each other in English.

In a locality like Upper Nakawa, the conviction of behaviour appropriate to status sets norms of behaviour for members of both "higher" and "lower" socio-economic categories. It recognises the English/non-English speaking division by expecting a certain humility from the fluent English speaker and, reciprocally, a deference in behaviour from the non-English speaker. This is particularly important in view of the fact that, in Upper Nakawa at least, there are many skilled or even semi-skilled artisans, who, though they may know little or no English, hold well-paid jobs and consider themselves to be of equal economic status with some English speakers. They would resent "aloof" behaviour which appeared to deny them this parity of economic status.

It is underlying conditions of this kind that prompt certain residents to move to higher localitites or, conversely, deter them from making a movement.

The locality in which a person is resident defines itself physically and by stating appropriate norms of behaviour. If, as with Onyango above, a person does not wish to conform to these norms, he may react by moving to a locality regarded by himself and his former fellow residents as more appropriate to his status. This principle applies to deviant residents both above and below the socio-economic average of the locality.

These facts indicate the self-membership expressed by residents of a locality . Disputes of the type discussed above emphasise the non-tribal, socio-economic criteria of recruitment, and co-activity in a group like the locality. The fact that the concept of locality is expressed within an estate as well as between them confirms its relativity.

Thus, as distinct from differences expressed between Upper and Lower Nakawa, there are times when people feel obliged to speak of the differences between Nakawa and Naguru and of their existence as distinct and somewhat opposed entities. Yet, for certain residents of Upper Nakawa, especially, Naguru is likely to be the next estate to which they move.

In chapter VI I show how the "elites" of Nakawa and Naguru administer what I call locality associations and do indeed conceive of their respective estates as opposed. Through the associations they achieve positions of local pre-eminence. But, when they aspire

to wider scale leadership roles, they sometimes find it necessary to relinquish their positions in the locality associations and to move to Naguru, if they live at Nakawa, or, if they already live at Naguru, to direct their interests into associations catering for a wider populace than that of the locality.

Locality association leaders sometimes complain to the housing authorities about having to share their amenities with Nakawa or Naguru residents, as the case may be. During one Nakawa tenants' association meeting to which a senior housing officer had been invited, pressing claims for a larger community hall were accompanied by such comments as, "Why should we at Nakawa have to go to Naguru whenever there is a dance on there? Why do we have to cross the Jinja Road to their place ? We want our own dances. That is Naguru. This is Nakawa." The same sentiments are expressed in claims for separate schools and nurseries, and for the provision of better amenities than are at present enjoyed at Nakawa.

Naguru tenants' association also has its outbursts. "Those people from Nakawa come to our dances and our beer-bar and cause much trouble. They get drunk more than our people and, because this is not their place, they damage the community hall, and are only after prostitutes. It is they who keep these prostitutes hanging around the beer-bar. Why don't you (to the housing representative) make them stay at Nakawa?"

In interpersonal relations these sentiments are shared by people who are not association leaders. To some extent these sentiments both percolate down from and are included in what locality leaders say. Their transmission is a two-way process.

At Nakawa, they are more usually expressions of the physical and social line of deprivation and of attempts to remedy it by claiming equal rights and prestige in residence on this estate. At Naguru , they are expressions of a desire not to suffer a lowering of standards and loss of privileges. Against all this is the contradictory fact that many of the very people at Nakawa who stress the need for the estate's own identity and integrity frequently move to Naguru themselves

Local groups, whether those pertaining to the neighbourhood unit or to the locality, do not exhibit the cohesiveness of, say, the urban kin and tribal groups of segmentary tribesmen. But, either through the medium of the tenants' association or through the informal application of neighbourhood and local sanctions on behaviour, they define their expectations of membership. In addition to these social factors, pure physical factors help define their boundaries.

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1 Another way of distinguishing localities as groups is by assessing the extent to which members of them seem to wish to "capture" the anthropologist. It may be postulated that sub-groups of a society under study tend to stress their exclusive "possession" of the field-worker. Thus, when I was doing intensive study in Lower Nakawa, I was pushed forward as representative of the locality in a demand to the housing authorities for better living conditions. The local elite, whose members almost all live in Upper Nakawa, plus many other residents there, admonished me for associating too closely with the people of Lower Nakawa. They insisted that my place was in Upper Nakawa and that my activities should be confined there. They then arranged a debate in which I was a principal speaker partly in an attempt, it seemed, to show the rest of the estate, and possibly Naguru also, where I belonged.

A number of social features indicate the non-tribal, basically socio-economic criteria of behaviour operating at the level of locality. In the last chapter I pointed out that men act more independently of their wives at this level than in the neighbourhood unit, though the two levels of activity inevitably affect each other.

Men make the decision to move from lower to higher localities, or vice versa; they constitute the leadership and membership of locality associations; through or not through these associations, they participate or arbitrate in the wider scale, sometimes most violent, disputes; and they are most active in situations of free association not confined to a neighbourhood unit, sometimes bringing workplace associates into the local status groups of which they are members.

c) Wide scale disputes involving Kin and Fellowtribesmen

As I stated in the last chapter, it is at the level of locality that a man's position with regard to his urban groups of kin, clansmen, or fellowtribesmen may be redefined. The social features just enumerated often provide the issues around which such redefinition occurs.

I distinguished a second type of wide scale dispute, in which a person's fellowtribesmen/residents in the locality opposed his behaviour, and in which non-fellowtribesmen also resident in the locality were either disinterested from the dispute or clearly supported the person involved. In either case, disputes of this kind indicated a conflict of tribal and non-tribal norms. The latter derive from relationships of the neighbourhood unit and from other arenas of activity. The former derive, of course, from the person's respective kin and tribal groups.

Furthermore, conflicts of this sort are almost entirely experienced by segmentary lineage tribesmen for reasons, already discussed, that it is their urban agnatic, clan, and tribal groups which are interested enough to correct what they regard as deviant behaviour. A much larger proportion of wide scale disputes involving centralised tribesmen are taken to a non-tribal, or multi-tribal body, like the tenants' association, or, if serious enough, to the Buganda government Nakawa gombololo court.

Segmentary tribesmen have specific attitudes towards the status of their married and unmarried women. Adultery, and the elopement or premarital pregnancy of a daughter, are common issues leading to disputes dealt with by the agnatic and tribal groups, sometimes, but by no means always, through a formal association.

The significance of locality in the settlement of such disputes is that it is members of these groups living nearest to either the offender or wronged who may be expected to act as prime agents.

Thus, when a young Lugbara living in Lower Nakawa impregnated a girl living with her father in Upper Nakawa, it was agnates and other relatives of these two parties living in the estate who first discussed the matter in detail then referred it to the Nakawa branch of the Lugbara association. Other agnates living at Naguru and in other parts of Kampala did attend one or two meetings but left the more elaborate arrangements to the Nakawa agnates. Similarly, the matter was never referred to other brancehs of the Lugbara association. There was some mutual recognition of this division of labour. One of the few Lugbara residents of Naguru, who was a distant agnate of the girl, stated that he was "not expected to be brought into the

matter too deeply, since there are already relatives of the girl living at Nakawa. I would expect my relatives living nearest to me to help me most."

Some of the Lugbara at Nakawa who were among the most active in the arrangements were not even distantly related to either the boy or girl.

Real brothers and close agnates are, of course, less affected by residence in different localities. They will attempt to correct each other's behaviour no matter where they live. But more distant agnates, clansmen and ordinary fellowtribesmen may excuse their disinterest from an issue on the grounds of physical distance.

One Luyha living at Naguru who was a distant agnate, having the same paternal great grandfather, of a man condemned in Lower Nakawa for living with a succession of Ganda, Toro and Haya prostitutes, stated, "He has people living near him who know him better than I do and who are with him more. I have to travel across the Jinja Road to see him. I went last weekend and discussed the matter with them, but I cannot go every evening."

The wide scale locality disputes in which only centralised tribesmen are involved do not invoke the sanctions of corporate kin and tribal groups.

One Ganda at Naguru complained at a general meeting of the tenants' association that his Ganda wife had for a long time been prey to the seductive advances of a fellow Ganda living a few doors away. He demanded that the association evict the man responsible, since, when he himself had protested to the man, he had merely been threatened by him. The association's committee investigated the

matter and did recommend to the estate manager that the man be evicted from Naguru. The manager accepted the association's recommendation and evicted the offending Ganda, thereby giving the Ganda husband the satisfactory settlement of the dispute that he had requested.

In a similar case referred to the Nakawa tenants' association, a Toro of Upper Nakawa complained that an Acholi, also of a few doorss away, was sedretly tryñng to seduce his schoolgirl daughter. He admitted that the girl had generally complied with the Acholi's advances but claimed that, in any case, schoolgirls should be protected from becoming pregnant before leaving school. Neither the Acholi's agnates, clansmen, nor the Acholi association had been aware of this apparent misdemeanour. Representatives of these agents living in Upper Nakawa where the Toro and Acholi lived asked the tenants' association if they could deal with the matter themselves. Permission was granted to them to do this. The accused Acholi denied the charges and no action was taken against him. The affair blew over and the Toro did not complain again.

In this case, the Toro's "legal" representative was the tenants' association. In more serious circumstances and if he had the money, he might have taken the matter to the Nakawa gombolola court. The Acholi's "legal" representative and prosecutor were his agnates, clansmen and Acholi association members resident in Upper Nakawa.

Segmentary tribesmen may also take disputes, including intra-tribal ones, to the gombolola court. The seriousness of the dispute determines whether they do so. But, for intra-tribal disputes

especially, this course of action is usually only resorted to when the relevant urban groups of agnates, clansmen or interested fellowtribesmen have failed to reach an agreement, either between themselves or with a deviant member.

As I indicated above, these are occasional wide scale disputes involving segmentary tribesmen which give rise to an obvious conflict of neighbourhood/locality non-tribal norms and the norms of a person's agnatic and tribal groups.

These are less likely to concern the status of women as the socio-economic differentiation of agnates, clansmen and fellow-tribesmen and resultant conflicts in role-expectation between them.

Shouts were heard coming from a house in Upper Nakawa. A young Lango was accusing his elder unmarried cousin, with whom he lodged, of disregarding his obligations to him. He had been unemployed for some months and accused the elder cousin of having neglected him. The elder cousin had just spent ten days in West Uganda where he had been looking for a better job in one of the copper mines there. He had left without telling the young man and had left him no money. The young Lango had lived off "brothers" during this time.

A few residents gathered around, though many watched the dispute from their windows. Most joked about the affair, though, more seriously, a number of neighbours agreed that the elder Lango had never neglected his duties to the younger cousin before. Some neighbours said it was inevitable that this breaking point in the relationship should be reached. The man could not go on keeping his cousin for ever. There was so much unemployment these days that it was probably better for unemployed relatives to return home. Without them, "brothers" working in town could help them more by sending money home. But having to provide their keep in town only wasted their money. Some of the neighbours expressing these sentiments were Lango.

It was not long before Lango friends of the cousins, including a few relatives and clansmen, came to try and pacify the younger man. They first recognised the elder cousin's difficulties in providing for the younger. But they rebuked him for having left for West Uganda without either telling the young man or leaving him money. One remarked that all "brothers" had to bear the burden of this sort of obligation. Another stated that the elder cousin's income was higher than those of many men who were married and had additional obligations to "brothers" and "parents".

The elder cousin protested that he had no opportunity to save, and that he wanted to marry soon. The short affair ended when the younger cousin declared his intention of either finding someone else to lodge with or returning home. Immediately afterwards, the elder cousin demonstrated his case with sympathetic neighbours and a few other residents relatively unknown to him who happened to be passing.

d) Moving to Higher Status Localities

It is in the desire of a migrant to move from a lower to a higher status locality that wide scale disputes of this kind often occur. Before or after the movement the migrant may be spoken of and sometimes openly accused of acting with "pride".

Sometimes the migrant moves because his relations with all neighbours and immediate residents are bad. Sometimes his neighbourhood relations are good, yet he still desires to move. In this case especially, fellowtribesmen may feel offended and may regard the act as one of "pride".

It is difficult to assess quantitavely the reactions and reasons of fellowtribesmen who regard a migrant who makes this move as some kind of deviant. But I have recorded eleven disputes between

fellowtribesmen and/or clansmen, agnates and other kin which have arisen after one of them appeared to evaluate himself above residence in the locality and decided to move to a higher status one.

All except one concern segmentary tribesmen. They include four Luo, a Samia, two Lango, two Acholi, and a Nyoro. They all occurred at Nakawa, referring either to a movement from Lower to Upper Nakawa or from Nakawa to Naguru. It is quite likely that they also occur at Naguru when persons move to Ntinda, though I have no data to support this.

Because of the numerical predominance of segmentary over centralised tribesmen at Nakawa, it is difficult to conclude from this small number of disputes that they are much more common among the former. However, subjective statements certainly confirm this.

When asked about a fellowtribesmen who, some months after receiving a substantial rise in wages, moved to Naguru from Upper Nakawa, a Toro answered, "If he wants to be a landlord (that is, a man of means accorded respect) eventually, then that is his good luck and work. I hope I shall do the same."

Subjective statements of this kind suggest that centralised tribesmen are less given to condemning a neighbouring fellowtribesman for making this move. They look to their own stratified societies and see status aspiration of this kind as little more than a subscription to their social systems. Moreover, there is no apprehension that the solidarity of their urban groups of kin and tribe will be disrupted, since the solidarity, if it can be said to exist at all, is in any case weak.

Members of the egalitarian segmentary societies do not see the movement by a fellowtribesman to a better locality as subscribing to the value patterns of their social systems. For them, departure from a lesser to a superior locality represents more than a physical movement. It implies also the loosening of ties with and obligations to a number of former neighbours among whom may be fellowtribesmen, clansmen, agnates and other kin.

In anticipating the movement, there are two broad alternatives open to a member of an egalitarian tribe. They correspond with the distinction between unacceptable and acceptable deviance. Unacceptable deviance results when the resident moves out with little or no word to fellowtribesmen in his locality. His action will not go unnoticed and, through the medium of neighbourhood, beer-bar and soccer-crowd gossip, his notoriety may become known. Clansmen and agnates, by sharing a common rural locality, have the added sanction at their disposal of informing clansfolk and fellow villagers at home of their "brother's" deviance. The fact is that the aspirant to a higher status locality will indeed tend to lossen his former locality ties. Increased physical distance between his new and old locality, and acquaintanceship with new neighbours make it difficult for him to maintain them as highly as before. Furthermore, the higher status the locality, the greater is the proportion of high status Ganda.

At Nakawa the Ganda constitute only 4.37% of all household heads. At Naguru the percentage rises to 19.84. At Ntinda their proportion is probably about 70%. There is a similar proportional increase for Toro, Nyoro and Soga of 3.9% in Nakawa to 8.37% in Naguru.

Since the aspirant's potential neighbour-friends seem to consist of a larger proportion of centralised tribesmen, his movement may additionally and somewhat irrationally be regarded by his former fellowtribesmen neighbours as defection from their own to alien and non-egalitarian tribal collectivities. This is implied in such comments as, "He has forgotten us now and drinks with those Mengo people (i.e. Ganda)."

However, aspirants usually consciously incur acceptable deviance. This is done by accounting for the movement in one of about three ways. These are: (1) by stressing the intention to marry and the desire to welcome the new wife, "who is of another clan and must be properly welcomed", into a good house and home. The aspirant emphasises that he will invite and expect his former clan and fellowtribesmen neighbours to come and visit his new wife; (2) by stressing the need for more room for his children, but at the same time insisting that he will continue to attend, for instance, the clan association's meetings or visit his former neighbours; and (3) by pointing out that he has, or is about to secure a position of some importance or influence which he will use "to help the people", and that to use this position most effectively he has to "convince" equally important people by inviting them to a high-status house. Such positions may be city councillor, official of a political party branch, a large tribal union, or an expatriate-aiding organisation like the Uganda Kenya Africa Union.

Accounting for the movement in one of these ways certainly mitigates negative sanctions against the aspirant, but the fact remains

that he will simply be unable to maintain his former locality relationships as intensely as before, and his action will still constitute deviance, the condemnative effects of which are frozen or at least delayed. Clearly, not all aspirants will be able to account for their movement in any of these ways. The married man with one or no children, who holds no important position in an organisation, has difficulty in finding a reason to account for his movement which will satisfy clan and fellowtribesmen of his locality. In one case, such a man, a Samia, moved from Lower to Upper Nakawa without even casually informing any neighbours. Three clansmen of the locality who considered they were going through a period of misfortune at the time, suggested the man had moved because he had been practising sorcery against them and had feared discovery and retaliation. Through what was considered an unworthy act, the Samia had disrupted the solidarity of his clan and incurred the open disapproval and projected accusation of his clanmates in the locality.

Misdeeds of this kind by persons of egalitarian tribes may cause fellowtribesmen to act as representatives of the total tribe or of a sector of it and to speak out against the actions. The group may be regarded as rising up against the deviant individual. In doing this, the group itself reasserts its identity as an externally differentiated entity with some degree of internal differentiation.

It would be pointless to argue that there is any inflexible correlation between certain actions, such as the residential movement described, and accusations of deviance. Very much depends on personality factors and on the precise nature of the aspirant's local

and intra-tribal relations. But the relatively high number of disputes among segmentary tribesmen arising over what would seem to the casual observer as irrational accusations, together with subjective statements regarding such apparent misdeeds, illuminate a difference in values, at least, between persons of traditionally egalitarian and traditionally stratified societies.

As a general impressionistic example of the difference, the Luo propensity to condemn a man as sunga, a proud and aloof person, contrasts with the Ganda propensity to praise and pay deference to a man regarded as ow'ekitibwa, a person radiating dignity, authority, wealth and the aristocratic ideal. The Luo ruoth is a man of wealth, too, but his authority and the deference paid to him are much more limited, ideally at least.

It is also at the level of locality that events occur which throw into prominence more specific tribal alignments and cleavages. During a stormy series of Nakawa tenants' association committee meetings, Luo and Luhya officers split into two factions. Committee members who were not of the two tribes attempted a conciliatory role and voiced their opposition to tribal factionalism. But news of the factionalism went beyond the committee to the ears of interested ordinary members of the association. These told friends and neighbours about the split so that in a short while the news had percolated to a surprisingly large minority of the estate's tenants. Luo and Luhya did not, of course, engage in hostilities every time they met, but much banter was exchanged concerning the issue, and it is likely that such joking relationships covered what was thought to be an underlying

hostility between the two tribes, which in the minds of individual tribesmen were conceived in some abstract way as corporate groups.[1]

In this abstract sense, events occurring at the level of locality enable members of centralised tribes also to conceive of tribal solidarities and cleavages. Thus, in tenants' association meetings Ganda tenants sometimes jokingly question the rights of the Luo, as Kenyans, to reside in Uganda and more specifically on the housing estate itself which, they sometimes say, is on land that once belonged to the Kabaka. The oblique or jocular statement merely covers the mutual recognition of antagonism between the tribes.[2] The difference in conceptions of solidarity between centralised and non-centralised tribesmen, however, is that the former are conscious of no more than a loose tribal entity which is to that extent externally differentiated but which is internally undifferentiated[3], whereas the latter actively and ideologically employ the internal segmentary differentiation of lineage, clan, and sometimes subtribe.

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1 On a "group" basis, Luo and Luhya were divided on political lines, the former being predominantly members of KANU and the latter mostly of KADU.

2 The ambivalence characteristic of tribal categorical relationships is presumably functional in much the same way as in the classical cases of ambivalence given by Radcliffe-Brown in his distinction between disjunction and conjunction in a joking relationship.

3 Except in so far that there is an awareness of "classes" of aristocrats, landlords, and tenants, none of which are localised or corporate groups, however.

e) The Local Order: Summary

In contrast to the expression of tribal alignments and cleavages, individuals are linked in relationships which stress socio-economic alignments and divisions. These divisions operate within the neighbourhood unit to differentiate individuals and groups. They also operate on an increasingly wider scale to differentiate localities themselves, which take on the character of groups in which persons conceive of themselves as members of Upper as opposed to Lower Nakawa, of Nakawa as opposed to Naguru, or of Kampala East as opposed to Kisenyi, Mulago or a like suburb.

It is the socio-economic differentiation of both persons and groups, again regardless of tribe, which makes the facts of residence in Kampala East so important in urban adaptation.

As I show in chapter VI, these facts receive public normative assent and become symbolised through the establishment of small elites on each estate. The existence of these elites and of the voluntary formal associations they lead provides residents with a series of ranked reference groups against which they may evaluate their own urban statuses, and, especially among segmentary tribesmen, redefine their relationships within urban groups of agnates, clan, and fellowtribesmen.

Against these aspects of the local order the general distinction in value- and sanction-systems between townsmen of centralised and non-centralised tribes has to be seen.

It is of course in the order of kinship and tribe, discussed in chapter II, that the distinction has its source. Briefly and somewhat obviously, urban tribal and kinship systems are organised differently from each other for the very reason that in the rural home areas they are different. For my purpose of analysis it is the polar contrast of centralised and uncentralised segmentary tribes which is especially observable and therefore significant.

In urban neighbourhood and locality, the significance of the distinction persists only to a limited extent. In the most intense and regular relationships of the neighbourhood unit there is generally no such significance. Within less intense relationships dispersed over a territorially wider locality the distinction may bear some significance.

It must be remembered, however, that city council housing estates are in a sense artificially arranged. No account is taken of the propensity of most urban migrants to live in tribal clusters and to conduct their lives more or less ethnocentrically. As I have indicated houses are definitely not allocated according to applicants' tribal membership. In the peri-urban areas of Kampala, spontaneous development has occurred with the result that residents of some small localities are predominantly of one tribe. In such cases, the distinction in tribal society referred to bears even greater significanc than in the city council housing estates. In other words, the more kin, tribal, and local groups coincide in an urban area, the more will the distinctive behavioural patterns of separate tribespeople persist. The corollary of this is that the more dispersed in an urban area

kin and tribal groups become, the less likely are distinctive tribal behavioural patterns to persist, as is particularly evident in the primary group of neighbours on a housing estate.

For migrants of both segmentary and centralised tribes, the urban local dispersion of fellowtribesmen and their sharing of a common residential locality with non-fellowtribesmen constitute alterations to the rural structures.

For the centralised tribes discussed, the urban dispersion of agnates, other kin, and clansmen does not constitute a structural alteration, since it merely reflects a similar dispersion at home in the rural areas. The urban dispersion of agnates and clansmen among segmentary tribes does, of course, constitute a major structural alteration.

Thus, among persons of segmentary tribes, change occurs most obviously in the neighbourhood unit, where neighbours are no longer automatically kinsmen, lineage mates, or clansmen, and where behaviour is no longer determined by ascribed status within a highly agnatic kinship system but depends on the fulfilment of socio-economic criteria most typical of achieved urban statuses. In this context, conjugal relations may be slightly redefined, due to the high density of roles played by women in the neighbourhood unit. Similarly, in chapter II, I indicated that it is in the primary groups of the urban household that agnatic and other kin relations are most obviously altered among such tribespeople.

I may over-simplify what I have so far described by saying that centralised tribesmen may enter relationships within the urban orders of kinship, tribe, neighbourhood and locality without experiencing as great a change in the norms attaching to such relationships as segmentary tribesmen, who are more immediately obliged to reconsider the applicability of norms for certain relationships within these grders. Whereas, in their rural home districts, the former are already used to a large proportion of single-interest relationships of a contractual nature, the latter are more familiar with multiplex relationships of an expansive nature, in which legal, political, economic and ritual components tend to be interwoven, usually around a central core of agnatic or clan affiliation.

In the next chapter, I illustrate that this distinction continues to have relevance in so far as the multiplex nature of relationships among segmentary tribesmen is expressed in a proliferation of variously functional urban tribal associations, and where among centralised tribesmen in town n.o such associations exist.

The distinction ceases to have relevance in chapter VI, in which non-tribal associations are described.

CHAPTER V

ADAPTATION TO THE CIVIC ORDER: TRIBAL ASSOCIATIONS

a) Associations in Kampala East

Formal voluntary associations in Kampala are a significant facet of urban life. This is not to say that all urban migrants are involved in them. Indeed, only a small minority of the labour force regularly participate in such associations. The significance of associations lies rather in what they represent and express, in the kind of people constituting their leadership and membership, and how the associations are related to each other.

It is generally understood what is meant by formal voluntary associations in African towns. Little, Banton, Fraenkel, and many others, have described them.[1] I define formal voluntary associations as having formalised recruitment, a written or unwritten constitution of organisational procedure and aims, and titled officers, usually elected to their positions. Some associations may regard themselves as coming under a centralised body. Others may regard themselves as branches of an uncentralised federal structure.

Kampala East enjoys a special position with regard to the formation of associations. Several factors mark it off as a major area of

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[1] K.L. Little, 1951, The Mende of Sierra Leone: A West African People in Transition, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

M. Banton, 1957, op.cit.

M. Fraenkel, 1964, Tribe and Class in Monrovia, O.U.P. for I.A.I.

residence in Kampala. It is in the first place a distinct city ward. Of the city's three wards, it is the only one with a predominant African population. Its population is generally above the Kampala average in skills, income and length of urban residence. I have already spoken of the population as constituting a stable component in the city's labour force. Practically all residents in the area have some vested interests in the administration and fortunes of the town. Though the population as a whole is above the Kampala socio-economic average, it reflects a general occupational span of the least to the most skilled, and includes categories who approximate to an emergent middle class as well as those who would conventionally be referred to as a possible future proletariat.

Within Kampala East, the two estates of Naguru and Nakawa are the longest established and most densely populated. It is in these two estates that the expression of Kampala' East's identity as a relatively autonomous area is especially made. Whereas the "establishe African and non-African elite may be regarded as residing in the highest status residential areas near the centre of the city, higher status persons of Naguru and Nakawa may be regarded as constituting a secondary sectional elite. Such persons enjoy pre-eminence and play leadership roles among the most stable component of Kampala's labour force. But, for the most part, they are not high-grade civil servants, nor persons occupying the highest commercial and political positions. They are an "unestablished" elite, specific to a prominent sector of the city's population, serving as something of a reference group to the lowest status categories of the town's

population, but not directly effective in the policy making of the central government and local authorities.

The intermediary position of this population and of the leaders it throws up is reflected in the position Naguru and Nakawa occupy in the residential hierarchy of Kampala. I showed in the last chapter the precise nature of this position. I also showed how Naguru is further differentiated from Nakawa according to its residentia status, and how, at an even more intensive level, Nakawa is divided residentially into two distinctly evaluated localities.

The intermediary position in Kampala enjoyed by Naguru and Nakawa and, by extension, Kampala East, serves as a focal point for the establishing of certain very important associations. These associatio include those which in theory and to a lesser extent in practice are specific to a single urban tribespeople or sector of them. They are commonly referred to as tribal associations. Of the eight most important full tribal associations in Kampala, all but one of them have their headquarters and most executive and general meetings at either Naguru or Nakawa, and mostly at the latter. Nearly all the associations' leaders or elected officers live in either of these two estates, again, mostly at Nakawa. In occupation, education, and length of urban residence the leaders are above the average for Kampala as a whole, see Table VII.

TABLE VII

Status Attributes of Tribal Association Leaders

Office Held	Occupation	Education	Place of Residence	Years Residence in Kampala	Age
Luo Union					
Chairman	muluka chief	2 years & Swahili	Kibuli-Nya-mwongo suburb	over 20 yrs.	45
Secretary	male nurse	9 years & English	Mulago suburb	9 years	28
Treasurer	typist	8 years & English	Kibuli-Nya-mwongo suburb	7 years	28
Luhya Union					
President	trained mechanic	8 years, technical, & English	Naguru	10 years	30
Secretary	clerk	8 years & English	Naguru	7 years	30
Treasurer	trade unionist	8 years & English	Nakawa	9 years	35
Banyankole/Kigezi Association					
Chairman	teacher	School Certificate	Kyambogo (Kla.East)	10 years	32
Secretary	clerk	8 years & English	Nakawa (later to Naguru)	8 years	31
Treasurer	assistant storekeeper	9 years & English	Nakawa	5 years	26
Lango Association					
Chairman	electrical engineer	9 years & English	Ntinda Est, (Kla.East)	15 years	44
Secretary	clerk	8 years & English	Nakawa	8 years	34
Treasurer	storekeeper	8 years & English	Nakawa	11 years	40

cont'd.....

Office held	Occupation	Education	Place of Residence	Years Residence in Kampala	Age
Acholi Association					
Chairman	clerk	7 years & English	Nakawa	11 years	36
Secretary	clerk	8 years & English	Naguru	9 years	33
Treasurer	motor mechanic	8 years & English	Nakawa (later Naguru)	8 years	30
Alur Association					
President	clerk	6 years & English	Naguru	10 years	37
Secretary	clerk	School Certificate	Kiswa Est. (Kla.East)	5 years	24
Treasurer	telephone operator	7 years & English	Nakawa	8 years	29
Jonam Association					
Chairman	clerk	7 years & English	Nakawa	9 years	31
Secretary	clerk	8 years & English	Naguru (earlier from Nakawa)	8 years	29
Treasurer	cappenter	9 years & English	Nakawa (later to Naguru)	7 years	27
Lugbara Association (Kampala)					
Chairman	telephone operator	7 years & English	Nakawa	6 years	33
Secretary	welder	3 years, no English	Nakawa	13 years	39
Treasurer	welder	2 years, no English	Nakawa	12 years	47

The attributes listed in Table VII are, of course, typical of the estates in socio-economic relation to the rest of the town. Moreover, the fact that most of these tribal association leaders fall into the skilled and clerical occupational category, speak English and have a relatively high number of years of formal education,

places them in further sectional elites which are each relevant to members of individual tribes in Greater Kampala. By definition, most members of the individual tribe are excluded from membership of its elite, so that breakaway movements and leadership roles at the lower levels are sometimes forged. These lower level splinter movements are sponsored by persons of lower socio-economic status who tend to live in Lower rather than Upper Nakawa.

Distinct from these tribal associations are those associations which are not specific to a single tribe but which theoretically offer membership to anyone regardless of tribe. Entry requirements tend to be even more stringently based on socio-economic criteria. I refer to these associations as non-tribal. Residents differentiate between tribal and non-tribal associations, though not with any consistent terminology. These associations may be specific to each estate and include tenants' and certain educational/recreational associations, and political party sub-branches. Leadership and membership qualifications are in relation to the general socio-economic status of the particular estate, so that, in absolute terms, they are more stringent at Naguru than at Nakawa. At each estate a local elite has developed. It is a local elite since it consists of a hard core of tenants who monopolise most of the leadership roles in the estate's non-tribal associations. Moreover, many of the members of the two local elites occupy leadership roles or are active members of full or sectional tribal associations.

Straddling both estates are those non-tribal associations which are specific to the ward as a whole and which are common, therefore, to tenants of Naguru and Nakawa together. These associations include

political party branches, as distinct from the sub-branches of each individual estate, and trade unions. The latter may be regarded as falling within the sphere of associations appropriate to Kampala East since many of their leaders and active members live there. Such persons are commonly above the average in skills and education of the respective labour force, so that it is not surprising that they should tend to live at Naguru and, to a lesser extent, Nakawa. Until the disfranchisement in Uganda of Kenyans, the political party branches each provided the banner under which candidates for the city, or the then municipal, council were nominated and campaigned. After their disfranchisement the political organisational influence of the Kenyans was withdrawn and the city council elections had much less impact on the populace. But until this time, leadership in a political party branch of the ward had regularly provided a possible ladder to a position of, successively, city council nominee, candidate, and eventually councillor. Again, trade union or city ward leaders may hold, or attempt to hold, leadership roles in tribal associations and/or within associations confined to a locality.

Thus, two categories of non-tribal assocaition are differentiated. There are those which are confined in their immediate activities to a single estate. In the preceding chapter I elaborated the concept of locality. A locality may be the equivalent of an estate, as when Naguru and Nakawa are regarded as secondary groups each distinctly internally and externally organised, or it may appear as part of an estate as when Nakawa is regarded as divided into the two localities of Upper and Lower Nakawa. Locality is especially seen

as a single area of residence occupying a place in a hierarchy in which people attempt to move from lesser to higher ranked residential areas.

It seems appropriate , therefore, to refer to those associations which are specific to a single estate as locality associations. I shall show that even the distinction in locality between Upper and Lower Nakawa is significant, since most of the high ranking members of this estate's local elite live in Upper Nakawa and in some cases have moved there from Lower Nakawa.

Similarly, the fact that Naguru is of higher residential status than Nakawa has significance for the way in which the members of its local elite are able to aim at and achieve leadership roles in associations or spheres of activity which straddle both estates and are pertinent to the ward as a whole, and even to the city.

These latter associations, I have indicated, are mostly evident in a political context. Trade unions do not usually operate within a political context. But, whether the union is nation- or city-wide, many of its leaders and active members are drawn from and typical of Kampala East's population, so that any prior or complementary leadership roles they play are likely to be within the ward. I refer to these associations as civic/political.

Non-tribal associations, then, are divided for description and analysis into locality and civic/political associations. All formal voluntary associations in Kampala East may be classified as either tribal, locality or civic/political. This classification indicates different scales of operation. Tribal associations are

ethnocentrically confined. Locality associations are confined within the bounds of an estate. Civic/political associations may in some contexts be confined locally to the city ward but in others may extend to the city and, nominally, the nation.

I firstly describe tribal associations.

b) Tribal Associations

Tribal associations are those which regard as their unit of recruitment a particular tribe or sector of a tribe. In chapter II, I spoke of the differing levels of solidarity among segmentary lineage tribes. These correspond with divisions among the tribes of agnates, clan, and for some, sub-tribe, and with the tribal collectivity as a whole. In these same tribes there are also levels of association coincident with those of solidarity, with the exception of the kin group which is not usually formally constituted in the same way as are other associations, nor in the sense in which I speak of associations. Among the centralised societies associations either do not exist or do not function to any appreciable extent. A Bika (clans) football association is open to Ganda in and around Kampala. It s aim is purely recreational and the association was started, an official admitted, in imitation of the football competitions organised by the Luo and Luhya. A Nyoro association was established by a handful of men and became defunct within a year. A few Soga claimed that a Soga association used to meet every April in celebration of the Kyabazinga's birthday, but, due to some dispute within the organisation, did not meet in 1963. No Toro association exists.

In contrast with the non-existence or non-viability of urban associations among the centralised tribes, those of the non-centralised tribes function regularly. Certainly, the forces of solidarity exhibited by these people gives some explanation for this viability. So, too, is the fact that their home districts are all at some distance from Kampala. Since, however, the Toro, who have no association, and the Nyoro, whose association never became fully established, also live some distance from Kampala, distance from town alone cannot provide an explanation for the viability of an urban tribal association.

On the other hand, "vast" distance from the town might have a decisive influence on the existence and viability of a tribe's association. This seems evidenced in the strength and activity of the Nyasa Union which incorporates as its members the 13 and only Nyasas in Kampala, and which, in spite of its small size, has established a school for members' children. The Nyasas are drawn from home districts as far afield as Zomba, about 1,500 miles from Kampala. Similarly, the Kamba and Kerinyaga (a Kikuyu sub-group) are 500 miles from home, and, though they are very few in Kampala, have established efficient associations.

Thus, on the one hand, the segmentary lineage structure of a society, together with its internally differentiated solidarity and with a greater or lesser distance of its home area from a town, appear likely preconditions for the forming and efficient running of urban associations.

On the other hand, for these preconditions to apply, there must be a sufficient number of persons of the tribe in the town for segments of the collectivity to express their respective solidarities. Where the total number of fellowtribesmen is so low as to preclude any worthwhile urban association segmentation, the fellowtribesmen will form a single tribal association. Furthermore, like the Nyasas, Kamba and Kerinyaga, their reason for forming the association will be the fact of their extremely small minority in the town as much as any other reason. There is a similar diffusion and overlapping of factors for the differences in organisation and aims attaching to each type and level of tribal association. These will be discussed eventually.

The eight tribal associations which are significant for their respective tribal populations in Kampala East and, by extension, Greater Kampala, are Luo, Luhya, Banyankole/Banyakigezi, Lango, Acholi, Alur, Jonam, and Lugbara. With the exception of the Alur and Jonam, these tribespeople are numerous in Kampala. The Nyasa, Kerinyaga and Kamba associations are not discussed any further since the urban migrants they represent constitute a very small fraction of Kampala's population.

I repeat that there are two or three levels of urban associations among some segmentary tribes. At the lowest level are the clan associations. At the next level are, for the Luo and Luhya, the sub-tribe associations.[1] The final level is that of the whole

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[1] These are known as location associations among the Luo. For the reasons given earlier and in order to avoid other connotations of location, I refer to them as subtribe associations.

tribal union or association. In fact, only the Luo and Luhya have all three levels. The Acholi and Lango have the two levels of clan and tribe, but less extensively. The Kiga have coalesced with the Ankole to form their only association, the Banyankole/Banyakigezi Association. It is interesting to note that the Kiga, though in principle and still to large degree in practice a non-centralised segmentary lineage society, are probably not so constantly constituted as such as the other segmentary societies. A high density of population, together with some population movement within their home district of Kigezi, has no doubt blurred lineage and clan boundaries, though it still appears the case that there will be a high proportion of residents of a given area belonging and having corporate allegiance to a single clan. The Ankole, with a traditional division between ruling Hima pastoralists and agricultural Iru and with a less traditional and recently installed Omugabe, are regarded as more a centralised than segmentary lineage society, especially since new local and corporate groups of mostly non-kin and non-clansmen have consolidated land in the interests of banana growing, and have brought about a fairly wide dispersion of clan members.[1]

The Lugbara and Teso, though members of segmentary lineage societies, have not established a complementary pyramidal structure of urban associations. The Teso have no associations at all in Kampala. The Lugbara have an association and branches, but the branches are not differentiated from each other according to divisions of clan and subtribe, but each comprises a heterogeneity of Lugbara.

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[1] D.J. Stenning, personal communication.

The special cases of the Lugbara and Teso will be discussed in due course.

Luo.

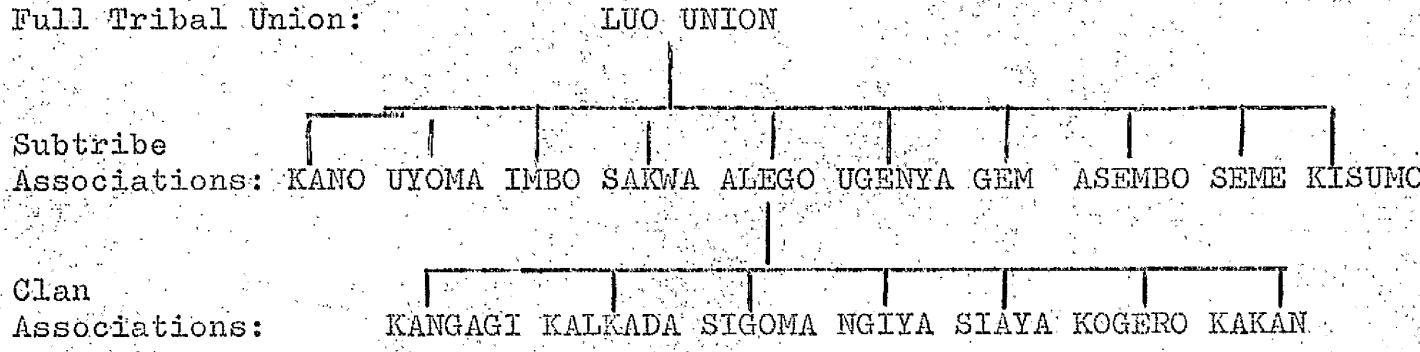
I shall now consider in some detail the structure of the Luo Union and associations. The Luo Union is an East African wide organisation and is certainly the largest and most impressive of all such associations. The English copy of the Luo Union constitution runs to eight foolscap pages. In it we are told the following information.

"The Union's headquarters shall be at Kisumu, the capital of the Luo country.....The Union shall have branches anywhere the Luo are residing permanently, working or otherwise.....The aims and object of the Union shall be: ....To promote and maintain mutual help and understanding among the Luo wherever they are.... To find ways and means of improving the Luo country generally, socially, educationally and economically..... To encourage and put into practice the Luo customs which are conductive to and compatible with modern civilization. ..... To look into and to object very strongly to those foreign customs which may be detrimental to the Luo people..... To look into and safeguard the welfare of the Luo people whever they are...." The constitution also states the intention of owning and operating printing presses, bookshops, libraries, reading rooms, magazi nes, and even hospitals and dispensaries. And, indeed, though the Union has not yet been able to fulfil all these aims, it has sponsored the building of the Ofafa Hall in Kisumu and the Ofafa Makingo centre in Nairobi, both named after a Luo Mayor of Nairobi who was assasinated

during the Kenya Emergency. In addition, it has constantly offered financial aid to the KANU party and government, has periodically given men the opportunity of overseas education, and at the headquarters of Kisumu and every branch, puts on dances and sometimes organises inter-subtribe football competitions. In its practice it may in no way be regarded as "entrenching tribalism", since its very real efforts at development have benefited more people than the Luo alone. Membership qualifications, in fact, are relatively liberal..... "Membership of the Union is open to.....All adult Luo men and women... Any other adult person other than Luo who lives within the Luo community and agrees with Luo customs and traditions and with this constitution."

In Kampala, and apparently in Nairobi too, the extent of the Union's size and aims has to be considered together with the existence and proliferation in the town of smaller subtribe and clan associations of the tribe. The following is a partial view of the structure of Luo associations in Kampala. The diagram is not exhaustive and for purposes of clarity and space deals with the clan associations of only one subtribe association.

The Structure of the Luo Union and some Affiliated Associations



The Union has established schools and nurseries in Kampala as well as organising the Luo inter-subtribe soccer competition and occasional dances. Needless to say, it is unable to deal with the more frequent and commonplace urban problems directly affecting the individual. There was, it would seem from the constitution, a belief that this would not be beyond its capacities...."The Executive Council alone shall have the power to establish or recognise or ratify Branch(es) and also to delimit Branch boundaries.....Any fifty or more members may form a Branch of the Union and send their request to the Executive Council for recognition. In one town or village there shall not be more than one Branch. Any members numbering less than fifty in any one town or village may form a Division of the Branch nearest them.... A Division or Sub-Division of a Branch shall not proceed to hold any meetings or form any associations unless such has (have) been permitted or authorised by the Headquarters or by the Executive Council." This prohibition of the formation of branches indicates that the Union felt itself able to deal with all the problems likely to be experienced by all minorities.

But, by looking at the diagram and gaining even an incomplete picture of the Luo structure of associations in Kampala alone, it is clear that, approved or not, members of smaller groups within the tribal collectivity have had recourse to self-help and mutual aid. Subtribe associations are, it is true, primarily concerned with inter-subtribe soccer, which, being orgnaised by the Luo Union Sports Club, awards them recognition. But their activities are not confined to this field and as is shown in the appendix to this chapter,

membership of a subtribe or similar division counts for something at the annual election of executive officers to the Union.

It is the clan associations, however, which are particularly viable as mutual aid and solidarity organisations. They may consist of anything from ten to thirty or, at the most, forty members. These members, if not directly related, are drawn from the same local home area, and this fact reinforces the efficacy of the clan association's structure of authority with regard to individual behaviour. Each member is aware that there is a constant inter-communication of people in the town and at home, and that those at home will quickly hear of any deviant behaviour and will in some way punish the offender when he returns.

The outstanding distinguishing feature of clan associations, and this applies to the clan or comparable small associations of other tribes, is that their leaders and most regular and active members are below the socio-economic average for the tribe's urban population. Members of these small associations are definitely brought together on the basis of a common need of economic and social security. Thus, clansmen who regard themselves as above the socio-economic average may feel no compulsion to be regularly active or even join the association, though they may show nominal interest.

Whereas neither the Luo Union nor the subtribe associations are consistently concerned with affairs of the individual, except in some cases of death when they may organise a collection of money to send the corpse home, the clan association is directly concerned with matters affecting him. These matters may entail the collection

of money for a number of purposes; help in cases of trouble with the police or local gombolola court; help in sending a destitute, unemployed member home; personal intervention in some disputes between members; the obligation to send home any unmarried or unattached girl of the clan who is found "roaming" in Kampala (though sometimes the major Union or subtribe association attempt to act upon this matter and there may be a conflict of expectations of responsibility between it and the clan association as in the initial case in chapter II); and the obligation s to visit each other and to sit and drink together on festive and other occasions.

These mutually acknowlddged obligations are, of course, those described in chapter II as obtaining between close and more distant agnates, and clansmen. Thnough the establishment of a clan association, they merely become even more formalised and are supported by the application of more specific sanctions.

The large Luo Union and the subtribe associations are basically community-oriented in their activities. The major purpose of each subtribe association is to play soccer against other subtribe teams in Kampala. This activity has a more social flavour. For instance, during Christmas, 1962, seven Kampala subtribe associations hired ten buses in order to take members home to Kenya to play soccer with fellow subtribesmen.

The realised objectives of the Luo Union itself have already been summarised and relate to the development in a variety of spheres of the Luo collectivity. The activities of the clan associations are clearly individual-oriented and are particularly concerned with

the urban migrant's problems. Their aims, and members' motives for forming the associations, reflect personal difficulties of urban subsistence, so that, for those migrants in need of it, such associations provide some degree of security. For this reason, they are more viable than the other two levels of association, which do not make a difference to the migrant of secure and insecure urban living. This is why the clan associations tend to cater for the poorer migrants.

However, this does not always continue to be the case. One Luo clan associatinn started a money-lending business. Loans were only made to persons, of any Luo subtribe, who had been vouched for by a member of the association. Though there were constant organisational difficulties, the business eventually showed good returns and the mutual aid function of the association became subsidiary especially after the money was invested in the purchase of a shop. Similarly, another clan association, under inspiring leadership, saved enough money to buy a car to be used as a taxi. Members are now planning to buy a second taxi and to aim at building up a fleet of them. A Luhya clan association also saved enough money to buy a shop. It was stated that this would enable an out-of-work member to run the shop and take a compensatory greater share of the profits. This same association has opened its membership ranks to three non-clan but fellowtribesmen in the hope of attracting the clientele of friends and clansmen of the latter. These three members and any clansmen willing to join will receive a scaled-down share of the profits until they have contributed as much in capital towards the

shop as the founder members. This measure has, perhaps unwittingly, maintained power of the administration of the business in the hands of the original clansmen. These highly successful clan associations are not to be regarded as typical. They have exceeded the bounds of their original objectives. Most continue as individual clan welfare societies.

None of this is to claim that there are no defections from membership of clan associations by those leigible. Those who do choose to leave or simply not to join are theoretically liable to sanctions of disapproval by both townsmen and home people and, in extreme cases, to total ostracision. The case in chapter III of a Luhya, called Washika, illustrated this possibility.

The socio-economic status of the particular clansman mostly determines whether such sanctions are effectively applied. If it is relatively high, or has become so, he would not normally feel a need to be an active member and loses less through incurring disapproval than the man of inferior status.

The greater viability of the clan associations may be compared with the fact that, for the Luo Union, whose potential membership in Greater Kampala runs to 5,544, no more than twenty-one persons, including the executive committee, are fully paid-up and officially recognised members, even though the entrance fee is only five shillings and the annual subscription two. Most clan associations ask three or five shillings a month from each member, in addition to "emmrgency" collections, and the imposition of fines for absence at meetings or unjustifiably late payment. At the annual Luo Union elections,

however, there is always an attendance of some hundreds of Luo, when money may be collected, and when, as on other occasions, the collectivity is urged to sponsor a "national" cause.

Members of the subtribe associations pay a shilling a month, the regular and majority proportion of which goes towards the hiring of city council soccer pitches and referees, and the purchase of jerseys and footballs.

It would seem inevitable that since the ordinary Luo migrant is potentially a member of three tribal associations, he should feel some difficulty in satisfying demands of participation and finance made upon him by each. The question of prime loyalty, however, rests only on a total allegiance to the clan or to the subtribe association. But since monthly dues of the subtribe associations are only a shilling a person, and since clan associations do not meet more than once a week under normal circumstances, it is possible to resolve any conflict by participating more or less fully in both. The Luo Union, because its affairs are not of immediate significance to the individual, and because, too, general meetings are held spasmodically, moes not impress an urgency upon the migrant to join or constantly attend them.

There is something more significant about participation in each of the associations which, again, also applies to the other segmentary associations in Kampala. This is that any man who is a regular, active member of a clan association is likely to be distinguished as one of inferior socio-economic status. The distinction is extended to designate all clan associations as

comprising the lower socio-economic strata of the respective tribe's urban population. Conversely, people of higher status may evaluate themselves above participation in clan associations and regard prominence in or membership of subtribe and, especially, full tribal associations as more prestigeful.

Against this is the sense of obligation entailed in yet another reason for the greater viability of clan associations. This is simply that the ties of a relatively small common rural locality unite clansmen more closely than members of merely the same tribe or subtribe. However, as is evident in the description of the Luo Union's annual elections, persons of different clans but of the same subtribe and even larger unit may unite together to vote a fellow member of the subtribe into office.[1]

Thus, the segmentary principle continues to operate in the formation of urban tribal associations. It provides a framework in which socio-economic differences, and the solution of different problems, are accommodated.

The following is an historical record of the associational segmentation of the Kampala Luo Union constructed from accounts given by a small number of Luo who witnessed the inception or early years of the Union and its activities.

The Luo Union in Kampala was established in 1947. It was regarded as a strong organisation approved of by the government for

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[1] In the appendix to this chapter, I give a detailed description of a Luo Union annual election and illustrate the qualities of leadership considered necessary by Kampala Luo for the incumbent of an office in the Union.

its primarily welfare activities. In those days it concerned itself with more than just "big enterprises", i.e. nursery schools, primary schools and community halls and centres, but also took care of the affairs of the individual. If a Luo was arrested for not having paid his poll tax, the Union would come to his aid. Similar action would be taken with regard to errant unattached women and in helping a family send a member's corpse home. But, during 1954-6, the numbers of Luo coming to work in Kampala increased considerably. The Union found itself less able constantly to attend the individual needs of its poorer members and inclined to a greater interest in larger scale projects. Dances, parties, rallies and meetings were held with the intention of raising funds for community centres, schools, and one single major project - the Ofafa Hall at Kisumu.

With a much greater Luo population in Kampala and with a parallel growing inability to heed to individual problems, the Union became less centralised in its influence and control over the tribal collectivity. In response to a need for individual welfare, and unrestricted by a virtually decentralised Union (according to the constitution the formation of branches in the same town was illicit), subtribe associations came into being. These were immediately strong and after about a year were "recognised" by the Luo Union in Kampala and were affiliated to it.

However, a number of disputes occurred after a while within the organisation of some subtribe associations. These disputes centred around what may be called "clan nepotism". Each subtribe at home consists of a number of territorially distinct clans. A keen often sporting rivalry exists between members of such clans in town as well as at home. In some Kampala subtribe associations, clansmen attempted to help each other into office, often by first trying to impeach non-clansmen officers. How much accusations of clan nepotism reflected not reality but simply intense inter-clan rivalry is not known. The fear by some clansmen, anyway, that one or two clans might dominate proceedings was enough to bring about their withdrawal of participation. A subtribe association might then cease to exist or might carry on lamely still expecting subscriptions from the

defaulters and condemning them as such.

In response to the breakdown of some subtribe associations and to a still unsatisfied need for individual welfare, clan associations were established. These have proved to be the most stable. Their present viability and the reasons for it have already been discussed.

In the late fifties, an entirely novel factor re-established and reaffirmed the subtribe associations. This was soccer, or rather the introduction of an inter-subtribe soccer competition. The idea stemmed from the Luo Union, and their sports club is at present in charge of organising the playing of matches in the competition. Soccer is the major form of public recreation in Kampala East. The intense popularity of the game and the desire to do well in the competition knit interested members of each subtribe together in a new solidarity. At the same time, because they recognized the need in such a competition for a neutral over-ruling and organisational body, subtribes paid greater deference and allegiance to the Union than had existed for some time. This in turn reaffirmed a tribal solidarity, as evidenced when two veryhigh status Luo gathered around them a small number of "highly educated" fellowtribesmen, who had become dissatisfied with the administration of the Union by what they were alleged to have called "illiterates", and established the East Uganda Luo Branch for "educated men". They were severly condemned by very many Luo through the Union and, in fact, unceremeniall disbanded the Branch.

There is without doubt a great deal of historical truth in this record. Even where facts may have been exaggerated or minimised, the general picture painted by the story concords with the description I have given so far of the structure of Luo associations in Kampala. This is that the three levels of association are related to the fulfilment of different needs of urban migrants. Because of organisational differences between the three types of associations, the potential or real member is not involved in any serious conflict

of participation. But, because the clan association provides economic and social security in the town and because members share ties of common home locality, it is the primary object of allegiance and the most viable of all three associations for the poorer man.

I now describe each of the other significant tribal associations in Kampala and afterwards discuss some of their general features of form and function.

Luhya

I need not discuss in any detail the structure of Luhya associations in Kampala.) This is because there exists the same emphasis on viability of and support for the clan and subtribe associations to the general detriment of the Luhya Union. In my description of Luo clan associations, I brought in a couple of Luhya examples which illustrated their similar structures.

The Luhya Union also has a sports club which arranges a soccer competition for the subtribes. At annual elections and on other occasions, a similar factionalism along subtribe lines obtains. There exists, too, a believed in incompatibility of tribal and non-tribal (particularly political) leadership as instanced by the following newspaper announcement: "The Abaluhya Association, Kampala, has announced that it had suspended the membership of Mr. Masasbi. The move follows controversy over suggestions that the association's leaders had urged Abaluhya to vote for the Democratic Party candidate, Mr. Bemba, at Naguru - which was denied by the Association's president, Mr. Peter Omutere."[1]

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[1] Uganda Argus, 15th February, 1963.

Both the Luo and Luhya migrants in Kampala are spread fairly evenly over the major occupational categories of clerical and skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. Many workers of both tribes are artisans who, though with little formal education and training, have gained experience in trades through working in such established secondary industrial centres of Kenya as Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nairobi and Mombasa.

This numerous and even spread of migrants from the lesser to more highly skilled jobs provides enough men of inferior status to form clan associations, while enabling enough men of higher status to be associated, if only nominally, with the more prestigeful tribal unions, and, to a lesser extent, subtribe associations.

Acholi and Lango

The Acholi and Lango in Kampala each have one level of association in addition to that of the full tribal association. Among the Lango the level is that of what are called clan associations, roughly comparable to the Luo and Luhya clan associations in aims and in the localised home divisions on which they are based.

Among the Acholi the small associations in Kampala are based on what at home are chiefdoms, each head of which (jago or rwot) is a member of an aristocratic lineage which co-exists in the same "domain"[1] with commoner lineages. For all this, the Acholi chiefdom associations share the aims of those of Luo, Luhya and Lango clans of aiding the individual urban migrant, and reacting against unattached girls and adulterous women of the tribe in Kampala.

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[1] F.K. Girling, The Acholi of Uganda, H.M.S.O.

Their membership, especially among the Acholi, is characterised by a predominance of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who constitute a majority of this tribe's migrants in Kampala.

The Acholi full tribal association has in recent years become largely recreational in its aims. It holds "modern" dances and encourages performances of Acholi folk-dances and songs, on some occasions agreeing to provide the Uganda National Theatre with its talent. It also organises an occasional "sports and dance" competition at Gulu, the Acholi capital, and arranges for money to be collected for the hiring of a bus to take some fellow tribesmen from Kampala for the occasion. Less often, it has organised a collection for a bereaved fellow tribesman in Kampala or has lodged an official protest on behalf of a fellowtribesman. On one occasion, after a young Acholi had been killed when a decrepit house chimney at Nakawa estate fell on him, the association, through the estate's tenant association, successfully sued the city council for compensation for the deceased's father. The Acholi association's leaders and active members are above the average in income, about half of them using English in their work. They represent a small fraction of Kampala's total Acholi population.

The Lango association's constitution is oriented towards helping migrants out of personal difficulties. It specifies generous financial assistance for bereaved persons, incapacitated and unemployed migrants, and those incurring court fines and heavy medical expenses. It also stresses its function as a fraternity organisation; "to bring together Lango in Kampala so that they know each other and understand each other's problems in the town". The association's officers are all above, and in some cases well above, the Kampala average in skill

and income. So, too, are most of the members. In fact, it is a minority of Lango in Greater Kampala who occupy unskilled positions. The fact of a high per capita income in Lango district precludes a high influx into Kampala of unskilled workers and only makes it worthwhile for relatively educated men to migrate to Kampala and seek more profitable employment than they could obtain at home in the rural sector.

A tendency of the Lango association is for the frequency of committee meetings to exceed that of general meetings. The association' qualifications for entry are stringent. The constitution states that "application for membership is by introduction", and an applicant must satisfy the association that he is of good character and will conform in every way to Lango standards as recognised by the association Some Lango have not been accepted for membership because it was thought that they would in some way weaken the solidarity of the association. Others have had their membership withheld. For example, the Lango mentioned earlier, who took a "temporary" Lango wife in Kampala and refused to marry her permanently and correctly at home, and had also fallen behind in his monthly dues, was ejected from the association. The association, then, in an attempt to preserve the efficiency of its organisation has ejected "undesirables" and established strong barriers of admission. The division is seen as that between tribal conformists and deviants, also typically but not entirely correctly cited as a division between "educated" and "uneducated" respectively.[1] The former are in power and in trying to heighten and maintain Lango

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[1] But, in some cases, as among the Lugbara, the correspondence is reversed. Thus, "educated" men are regarded as tribal non-conformists.

norms and values, have generally excluded the latter, whom they regard as falling short of expected behaviour, so that the individual welfare aims of the association tend to apply to a privileged few. The following brief historical account of the association in Kampala bears out this view.

The association was started in 1940 by a small number of uneducated people who felt the need for occasional mutual aid in Kampala and who accepted responsibility on behalf of relatives at home to watch over and if necessary correct the behaviour of fellow Lango in the town. It was inevitably "traditional" and conservative in form and function and never more than reacted to problems. In 1960, a number of more educated Lango "offered" their services to the organisation of the association. They insisted that a written and detailed constitution was needed and that the emphasis should be on the punishment rather than reconciliation of deviants. Gradually, these educated Lango took over the running of the association. In trying to reinforce a "progressive" viability of the association, they adopted more stringent requirements of admission and attendance, particularly with regard to finance, and so a number of former, uneducated members with manual occupations failed to meet them. In an extreme stressing of Lango values and in its demands of members for their fulfilment, the association became more totalitarian and conservative than ever, and yet generally removed from one of its original purposes of providing help whenever needed for the urban migrant. The complaint now is, "These educated people have taken over our association so completely that we have no say in its running". Informal and formal clan associations are now more likely to furnish security for the poorer Lango worker.

Kiga and Ankole

Relatively high status Lango now constitute the majority of the tribe's migrant population and provide the association with its leaders and members.

The Banyankole/Banyakigezi association, however, has as leaders and active members those of its two tribes who belong to the minority of relatively high status migrants. And the association, reflecting perhaps the interests of this minority, is fairly selective about prospective members and has its aims directed at satisfying the needs of community rather than individual. For instance, during my fieldwork, dances were being held, to which members of all tribes and races were invited, for the purpose of raising money to build a hostel in Kampala for newly arrived Kiga and Ankole migrants.

Nevertheless, it has attempted all the time to expand its membership, and has not yet developed the exclusiveness of the Lango association. But several factors continue to confine the membership to a small higher status minority.

One major reason that the Banyankole/Banyakigezi association does not represent or fulfil the needs of the greater part of its population in Kampala is that this greater part, especially Kiga, consists of unskilled workers who earn too little to afford the association's monthly and annual dues and who, through living at areas of Kampala sometimes distant from where meetings are held, are unable to afford transport there. The association has tried to solve this problem by establishing branches at such areas and by holding meetings alternatively at these branch areas. But the financial problem of the unskilled worker being able to afford dues remains largely unsolved, and, indeed, as short term target-workers resident in Kampala for no more than one or two years, it is unlikely they would see any benefit in investing in a voluntary association.

Additionally, their patterns of total expenditure are characterised by considerable parsimonious saving during their short stay in Kampala.

This predominance of unskilled, short-term Kiga migrants is certainly one factor inhibiting the development of a segmentary structur of urban associations among this tribespeople, who, at home, are apparently comprised within a localised, polysegmentary descent structure. Another factor may be that, in their coalition with the Ankole, a centralised tribe, the Kiga have compromisingly accepted the values of the unitary structure. I have no concrete data to support this suggestion, but it may be that the lower caste Iru , who constitute the vast majority of Ankole in Kampala and all of this tribe's members in the urban association, resisted associational segmentation on the grounds that, united, they, at least, could express their opposition to the traditionally ruling Hima caste more effectively. This said, it must be pointed out that most of the leaders and members of the association are Kiga, so that the first factor mentioned as inhibiting the development of urban segmentation is certainly the dominant one.

Thus, the Banyankole/Banyakigezi association seems to occupy an intermediary position along the line of a central hypothesis. This is that, given other essential factors, the degree of rural lineage and clan depth, localisation, and segmentation in any tribe is likely to be reflected in a similar degree of segmentation in its urban associations.

The other essential factors have already been seen in their significance in the foregoing discussion. They are the tribe's size, its distance from the town, the number of its migrants in the town,

their residential and occupational scatter, and their length of urban residence.

Alur and Jonam

The numbers of Alur and Jonam in Kampala are very small. This factor overrides the main one of their rural segmentation, so that a single association has been established by each of them in Kampala.

Most Alur in urban wage employment in Greater Kampala do not occupy unskilled positions. They are numerically significant in the Police Force, either as members of the force itself or as members of the civilian, largely office, staff. Most Alur migrants who are not equipped for a skilled or clerical job work not in the town but as cultivators on leased plots in the rural areas of Buganda.

The Alur association, then, being an urban institution centred in Kampala, has as its leaders and active members relatively high status migrants. But the association seems less concerned with assessing potential members according to present members' own standards of suitability. Rather, the emphasis is on expanding membership to any Alur who are interested in taking it. Though, too, most meetings held involve only committee members and a few other active ordinary members, occasional general meetings are held in a Kampala suburb where there is a small but substantial population of lower status Alur, so that with a definite and direct concern with individuals' problems, the association manages to obviate any impression of catering for any relatively privileged sector of the tribal collectivity.

The Jonam appear to be even less numerous in Kampala than the Alur. Though they recognise their linguistic and cultural affinity with the Alur, the Jonam have regarded themselves as sufficiently distinct a group to establish and run their own tribal associations. It is tempting to conjecture that the award of additional titles of office through establishing an autonomous association is in itself a factor encouraging this particular form of separatism. Like the Alur, the Jonam appear too few in Kampala for there to be a likelihood of sectional tribal associations being established.

The leaders of this association are all above the socio-economic average in Kampala. One leader eventually attempted, unsuccessfully, to become a city councillor. I discuss his leadership status-sequence in the next chapter.

The association has concerned itself with both individual and community welfare, being in a better position to do so than most other associations whose tribal populations in Kampala are larger and more unwieldy. It has not developed any policies of exclusion over membership, probably because the number of potential members is small.

Lugbara

The Lugbara association, like the Lugbara migrant population itself in Kampala, is the most distinctive in features of form and function of other associations of the segmentary tribes.

Townsmen of other tribes are employed in a sometimes uneven but general scatter of occupations from the highly skilled to the fully unskilled, so that divisions of education and occupation may be reflected in the composition of membership and barriers to admission

in the respective associations.

The vast majority of Kampala's Lugbara workers are in the first place semi- or unskilled with little or no education and are involved in a minimal scatter of occupations located in the lower socio-economic categories. Divisions of education and occupation are therefore not wide and so are less significant as factors affecting the differential membership of the association and its branches, or as bases of an exclusive association.

The Lugbara are a segmentary tribe, yet do not base their Kampala tribal association nor any branches of it according to divisions of lineage, clan or subtribe, more properly known as county. A factor inhibiting such development may be that, as distinct from most of the other segmentary tribes discussed, the Lugbara largest effective, localised lineage, or political unit, is of shallow genealogical depth.

Members of the association branches in Kampala do not necessarily share ties of common rural locality, nor of clan, so that the branches are not comparable to the clan and subtribe associations of some of the other tribespeople. At the Nakawa Lugbara association branch, members' tribal homes are more or less evenly distributed over the five Lugbara counties, with a slight predominance of men coming from Maraca and Ayivu, which are the most densely populated and provide a proportionally larger number of migrants from Lugbara.

The number of paid-up and regularly attending members of the Kampala and district branches amounts to only 95, so that the associatic cannot be said to represent all Kampala Lugbara migrants' interests.

However, though certainly not educated nor skilled, members of the association have generally acquired slightly greater skills than their townsfellows and, through a lack of land at home and a reliance on urban employment, have come to reside almost permanently in Kampala. But, since they have not reached a level of economic or social independence, the satisfaction of individual needs through mutual aid still constitutes the primary aim-content of the association and there is none of an exclusively shared recreational nature.

There remains, too, an ideological commitment to some Lugbara customs and values seen in the function of the association as a corrective to deviant men and women. Though this ideological commitment to more specific Lugbara norms of behaviour persists among these association members, the more practical needs of mutual aid in an alien environment have broken down to some extent the more general traditional values of inter-lineage and clan rivalry.

For these men, extreme land shortage at home and a consequent reliance on and commitment to a more economically profitable urban life have established a value of interdependence of all Lugbara, regardless of subtribal affiliations.

But, whereas these have lived in Kampala for a long time and, out of necessity, are virtually exiled there, other Lugbara townsmen are still primarily short-term target workers, who have even fewer skills than members of the association and who have relinquished neither dependence on nor rights to land at home. They tend to group themselves in Kampala, both residentially and occupationally, according to affiliations of kin, clan and wider locality and county.

Their security in the town is provided by these groups. On the other hand, they are not prevented nor discouraged from joining any branch of the formal association, and, in fact, the Lugbara association has actively attempted to increase membership by extending circulars to all sectors of the Lugbara population in all areas of Greater Kampala. However, potential members have remained largely indiffeent.

The case of the Lugbara illustrates that a tribe's segmentary structure alone is not a sufficient precondition for a coterminously pyramidal structure of its urban associations.

While dwelling on the way in which the social structure of a tribe may affect the form of its urban tribal associations, I might mention here that members in Kampala of the caste-structured society of the Ruanda separately administer associations appropriate to each of the Tutsi and Hutu castes.

Teso

The Teso, as Nilo-Hamites, must once have had a strong age organisation. Traditionally, they probably had no inclusive segmentary lineage system, though they were never centralised. With the destruction of the age organisation by the early Ganda administrato sixty years ago, and with the development of cotton farming and more concentrated settlement patterns, an extended family system seems to have become a core principle of organisation. In this way, over-lapping local cleavages have established a vaguely delineated segmentary structure.

The fact that this structure is less well-established might inhibit the development of a segmentary structure of Teso urban associations in Kampala. But, in Soroti, the capital of Teso district

they do have a single association which is relatively strong. In Kampala there is not even a single association.

The prime reason for this appears related to the high socio-economic status of its migrant population in Kampala. Teso district itself enjoys one of the highest per capita incomes in Uganda through its abundant yields of cotton. To an even greater extent than among people of the similarly fruitful Lango district, only those men who have a relatively high level of education and are therefore assured of profitable urban employment have migrated as far afield as Kampala. A small number of Teso did propose forming an association in Kampala in 1962. The proposal was rejected by the predominantly relatively high status Teso in the town and has not been made since. The argument against the proposal, which was itself made by some equally high status Teso, was that Teso in Kampala were in no economic or social need of an association and that, in view of this, to establish one would represent support for "tribalism".

This view crops up repreatedly in a number of contexts as a popular though not always heeded subscription to political parties' warning of the dangers in new states of "entrenching tribalism" or, at least, of the prejudices that go with it.

The disinclination, too, for establishing the equivalent of clan associations by educationally and occupationally superior Teso migrants rests, no doubt, on a number of bases. But one basis is certainly the fact that they felt they were neither economically nor socially obliged to formalise in the town those of their activities and relationships which at home are prescribed and bounded

according to the principles of a segmentary lineage or extended family system. There may have been the feeling, also, that, being of relatively high socio-economic status, any obligations to kin and clansmen were bound to outnumber by far the benefits they would receive through an intense maintenance of such ties.

c) Factors in the Formation of Urban Tribal Associations

Apart from the close similarity shown by those of the Luo and Luhya, associations of each tribe generally differ as to form and primary aim-content.

The existence of a tribal association, its form, and its primary aim-content depend on interrelations of the range of factors I listed above. The central factor is the extent to which cleavages in the rural tribal structure allow the formation of both corporate urban groups and associations purporting to represent each of these groups.

But this central factor may be partially or totally reduced in its significance by the predominance of one or more other factors. The combination of factors can be almost infinite. In describing the tribal assodiations centred in Kampala East, I have done no more than touch on a few possible types of combination.

I list these highly variable factors as they were significant.

1) Distance from the town of a tribe's home area.

(a) The fact of migration ensures that all urban dwelling tribesmen, including, for Kampala, many Ganda, fulfil this precondition in some degree.

(b) The greater the distance of home from town, the greater the

pressure on urban migrants of a tribe to establish a formal association.

2) The nature of a tribe's own social structure.

(a) The internally differentiated solidarity of a segmentary lineage tribe may be expressed in the town through a pyramidal structure of externally differentiated associations.

Exception: (i) Where, as among the unskilled majority of the Kampala population of Lugbara and Kiga/Ankole, the fulfilment of 5(b) predominates (see below).

(ii) Where, as among the high status Teso in Kampala, the fulfilment of 4(c) predominates.

(iii) Where, as among the Lugbara again, and possibly the Teso, the largest effective localised lineages are of shallow genealogical depth.

(b) (i) The diffuse undifferentiated solidarity of a centralised tribe may be expressed in the town through no more than one association and quite likely through none at all (e.g.Ganda, Toro, Nyoro, and Soga).

(ii) In the latter case, mutual aid may be provided by informal groups of fellowtribesmen recruited through a variety of links ranging from those of kinship to those of occupation and urban neighbourhood.

(c) The mutual antagonism of castes in a caste-structured society may be reflected in an external differentiation of urban caste associations (e.g. Ruanda).

3) A tribe's urban population in numerical relation to the town's total population.

(a) The smaller the minority of a tribe's urban population, the greater the pressure on it to establish a formal association.

(b) The larger the minority, the greater the likelihood of either 2(a) or 2(b)(ii) being fulfilled.

4) The occupational span and location of a tribe's urban migrants

(a) The more even the occupational span of a tribe's urban population and the less concentrated its location in any occupational category, the less likely is the entailed or intentional exclusiveness of its association (e.g. Luo and Luhya Unions).

and conversely:

(b) The less even the occupational span of a tribe's urban population and the more concentrated its location in any occupational categ the more likely is the entailed or intentional exclusiveness of its association. (e.g. The Lango, Acholi, Banyankole/ Banyakigezi, to a lesser extent Alur, and, to a much lesser extent, Lugbara associations).

(c) Where there is a total location of a tribe's urban migrants in the highest occupational categories, policies of inclusion and exclusion of membership of an association on the basis of membership of occupational category are precluded by the absence of members of the lowest and middle occupational categories. In such a situation there may not be felt the need to establish an association (e.g. Teso).

5) The intensity and length of urban residence by members of a tribe

(a) The more permanent the urban residence of tribesmen, the greater

(i) is the pressure on them, if they have low incomes, to form an individual welfare association (e.g. the Lugbara association branches, and nearly all clan associations of all tribes).

(ii) is the likelihood, if they have relatively high incomes, of their forming a community-oriented association (e.g. the Luo and Luhya Unions and Lango, Acholi and Banyankole/Banyakigezi associations).

(b) The more temporary the urban residence of a tribe's urban population, the less liekly is its entailed or intentional inclusion in an urban association established by more permanently residing members of the tribe's urban population (e.g. the Lugbara and Kiga/Ankole).

6) The residential distribution in the town of a tribe's urban migrants

This is clearly an important factor but my data concerning the residential positions in Kampala of all migrants are perforce limite Impressions from my own data are:

(a) The more a tribe's migrants of relatively[1] high socio-economic status are located in one residential area, the more likely is the entailed or intentional exclusiveness of its association, if any. (By virtue of Kampala'East's special position, this particular factor applies to all the tribal associations centred

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[1] "relative", that is, to other migrants of the tribe. The Lugbara responsible for establishing and running their tribal association branches are generally of slightly higher occupational and socio-economic status than their fellowtribesmen working in Kampala but are of no more than average socio-economic status in Kampala as a whole.

particular factor applies to all the tribal associations centred in the ward, but especially those of the Kiga/Ankole, Alur and Lugbara).

(b) The more there is a residential and occupational scatter in the town of a tribe's urban migrants, the less likely will its association, if any, assume policies of exclusion.

d) Tribal Associations: Summary

The importance to members of a tribe working at some distance from home to acknowledge their common social and cultural membership is that they are provided with a collectivity of persons whose patterns of behaviour they are familiar with. This is an obvious social fact, yet is of varying significance for establishing an urban tribal association.

A small minority of fellowtribesmen in a town will together emphasise their bonds and the distance separating them from the home people and may express the fact of their small minority in an alien social environment through a formally constituted association. Persons of a much larger urban tribal minority may bridge the physical and social distance from home by emphasising tribal links of only a selected proportion of fellowtribesmen, most of whom are in the relationship of kin, clan and fellow villager, established before their migration to the town. In this case there may not be felt the need to express the fact of urban minority through a formally constituted association of all tribesmen in the town since the informal group of persons is sufficiently large a vehicle of home ideology and communication.

For all arbitrarily large tribal minorities in town, there exist these informal groups of prior-established, home-based relationships. Among the Ganda, Toro, Nyoro and Soga centralised societies, a bilateral emphasis on kinship, a dispersion of clansmen, and a slight tendency of villagers to move in search of better plots of land do not act as factors demarcating one group from another. Among most segmentary lineage tribes, a genealogically deep agnatic principle of kinship affiliation, a localisation of clansmen, and a general coincidence of villager with kin- or clansman are bases for the corporateness of these groups and their differentiation from each other. In town, such groups may subscribe to their external differentiation by formalising their activities and the interaction of their members through establishing the clan associations already discussed. Furthermore, the pyramidal structure of a segmentary lineage tribe encourages the coalition of clans into larger units so that externally differentiated subtribe associations may be established as among the Kampala Luo and Luhya. And, at a full tribal level, the relatively intense solidarities of the smaller groups are expressed in a single and more diffuse solidarity through a tribal union.

Except for the high status Teso in Kampala who have tended to regard a tribal association of their own as parochial, and except for the lower paid Lugbara, relatively educated and occupationally superior migrants of some urban seniority and permanence have tended to assume positions of leadership and responsibility in their respectiv tribal associations or unions. They have reached a certain level of economic independence where the primary aim-content of the

association is seen by them as best directed towards the material and moral development of the tribal collectivity as a whole. In most cases, they do not pretend to represent the interests of fellow-tribesmen of all socio-economic categories in the town yet may at the same time wish and attempt to expand membership. Their dilemma is that while pursuing policies of community development they have little time or personnel to tend to the personal problems of individual urban migrants. Yet, for often a majority of a tribe's urban population who have not reached a level of economic independence, it is the solution of these individual problems which are of immediate import and they are reluctant to pay dues to an association which cannot help them in immediate crises. They may provide their means of urban social security either by establishing clan associations or by emphasising membership of an informal group of fellowtribesmen in the town, some of whom may or may not be kin and clansmen.

Thus, socio-economic differences within a tribe's urban population may be reflected in the differenees in organisation and aims between the tribe's urban associations.

The segmentary structure especially facilitates an acommodation of different interests of this kind. A man is at the same time agnate, clansman, subtribesman, and fellowtribesman, and may evaluate his status as appropriate to participation in an association representing one of these levels, though he may show a polite, nominal interest in those of other levels. On the other hand, the evaluation of his status may be made not by himself but by others, so that he is in practice excluded from the higher level association.

But, because in theory he is a member of any of the associations representing these levels, he may move upwards provided he fulfils the appropriate socio-economic requirements. Thus, the segmentary structure of urban tribal associations also allows the individual achievement of office or membership in more prestigeful associations. This possibility of individual achievement is, however, confined to the tribal order, that is, among a single tribespeople, and has negligible or minimal significance for non-fellowtribesmen.

Simplifying the facts in order to construct an ideal paradigm, we may say that among the urban migrants of a highly segmentary tribe, the normal urban socio-economic differentiation of fellowtribesmen is likely to be accommodated within a stratification of associations representing, progressively, lineage or clan, subtribe, and tribe. This is stage one of the paradigm.

In the next chapter, I illustrate that additional non-tribal associations may be further ranked and that a general stratification of associations for Kampala East has emerged. This involves a ranking of leadership roles.

CHAPTER VI

ADAPTATION TO THE CIVIC ORDER: NON-TRIBAL ASSOCIATIONS

I have shown that a tribe's urban associations, if it has more than one, may be regarded as ranked: full tribal association leaders and members are generally rich or educated men, while clan association leaders and members are poorer, less skilled and less educated. But the whole ranking system is confined to a single tribal group. Non-tribal associations are not so confined. They profess policies of all-tribal inclusiveness.

Though the distinction is obviously relative, people are generally aware of what sort of activities constitute either "tribal" or "non-tribal" spheres. This is perhaps particularly the case in independent Africa, where the calls are for national unity and, as a means of attaining this, for the rejection of behaviour based on tribal prejudices. In independent Africa, too, the lifting of restrictions formerly imposed by the colonial authorities on certain brands of political association, together with the greater part now played by dominant Africans, usually members of an elite, in associational or representative areas formerly occupied almost exclusively by Europeans and Asians, has added to the greater prestige of membership in some non-tribal associations. Indeed, a person who aspires to higher status is generally not content to remain a leader or member of a tribal association, since to show that his atatus attributes carry him beyond a restricted participation in tribal activities, he must illustrate his fitness for inclusion in a non-tribal association.

The greater pre-eminence of non-tribal associations thus derives from the widely held realisation that active membership or leadership roles in them may only be carried out by persons whose status attributes equip them for adtivity which transcends that of the individual tribe. Thus, a lingua franca acceptable to all tribes is necessary, and this is English rather than Swahili. A favourable public image is also necessary. Such an image is created through the ostentation of such diacritical characteristics as dress, house, motor vehicle, together with a general impression of affluence and generosity, and through evidence of education and knowledge. These features are of course always relative to the association discussed. The features are also significant as entry qualifications for active leadership of tribal associations, but the scale on which they operate is ethnocentrically confined to a single tribe. We may speak of non-tribal associations enjoying wider social scale and correspondingly greater prestige.

As within a single tribe there may be a hierarchy of its associations, so non-tribal associations differ among themselves in the extent to which each confers prestige on those who subscribe to it. This can be shown by following persons' leadership role-sequences through successively evaluated associations.

But before I concentrate my attention on the non-tribal locality and civic/political associations and on some leadership role-sequences spanning them, I repeat my contention that we may speak of non-tribal associations as a whole as being more prestigeful than tribal associations. It is true that some of the less prestigeful non-tribal associations do not rank as highly as some of the more prestigeful tribal associations, but cases of this kind constitute a small minority

of exceptions.

A general picture posited, then, of the whole structure of both tribal and non-tribal associations operating in Kampala East is of a "lower" sub-structure of the former type of association and a "higher" sub-structure of the latter.

Within each sub-structure individual associations are ranked as to the prestigefulness of leadership and membership in them. It would follow that an ideal role-sequence of a successful status-aspirant who has regarded participation in associations as instrumental to his acquisition of greater prestige would successively cover each association and the ones ranked above it. Movement from "lower" to "higher" associations, of course, represents a constant widening of social dimensions. Tribal associations which conduct all meetings in the vernacular do not specifically require that prominent members speak English and hold superior jobs, though in fact such members usually do possess those attributes. But some non-tribal associations either categorically state or at least tacitly but unflinchingly expect officers and prominent and even ordinary members to speak English and hold a position of at least some minor public importance.

With these general distinctions in mind, I now describe one form of non-tribal association, that of the locality.

a) Locality Associations

Locality associations are those which are specific to an estate. There are four such associations on each estate. They are the tenants' association, the debating society, the Y.M.C.A. and a political party sub-branch, which in the case of both estates is that of the ruling

party, the Uganda Peoples Congress. Attempts to form sub-branches of the opposition Democratic Party have failed.

For the moment I describe each of these associations in general terms and do not differentiate between Naguru and Nakawa with respect to the scales on which they operate and their structure and functions.

The tenants' association is the best known and most attended by the estate's residents. It is the one association which most tenants feel directly concerns them. The other locality associations have come to be regarded as fairly exclusive to a small minority of the estate's population.

It is said that the tenants' association was established for residents' welfare. It is encouraged by the city council housing committee who see it as a means through which tenants' views may be represented. The six committee members are elected to their offices by the tenants at annual elections.

Each estate is divided into about thirty "groups" of from ten to over sixty houses. Over each large group or over a number of smaller ones, a "group leader" is appointed by the tenants at the same time as the committee members are elected. There are altogether some fifteen group leaders each with his assistant, who is also appointed at the annual elections.

Meetings of the tenants' associations are convened not less than once a month. Extraordinary general meetings are fairly frequent, but meetings of the executive committee, group leaders and a few active non-officials are the most frequent. An association's constitution states that such executive meetings must be held in English. The reason behind this clause is said to be that persons

of one or other ethnic and linguistic group should not be favoured by the total use of either Luganda or Swahili. General meetings are conducted in Swahili or English at Nakawa, and in English, Luganda and Swahili at Naguru. Interpreters, who may be officials of the association or ordinary tenants, summarise a speaker's points.

A tenants' association's aims range from the super vision of the estate with regard to its general welfare and safety to securing a constant improvement of its amenities. The committee receives complaints from tenants at general meetings and lodges them with the estate manager.

The estate manager meets the committee or representatives of it about once a month. Through him, members of the tenants' association committee hope to draw the attention of the city council housing committee to their grievances. Occasionally, dissatisfaction with the way in which the estate manager has received their complaints leads them to demand a committee meeting with a representative of the housing committee itself, though this is rare. The usual and, from the authorities' point of view, acceptable chain of communication is from individual tenants to tenants' association, from the association's executive committee to the estate manager, and from him to the city council housing committee.

The estate manager, I have stated, is a full-time public employee. Before independence, the administration of the estates was in the hands of the central government African Housing Department and not in the charge of the city council, and at that time the estate manager enjoyed the status of civil servant.

He undergoes training and a period as an assistant estate manager before being assigned to the internal administrative charge of an estate. A policy of the Department of African Housing was to transfer an estate manager who had seen one or two years service on the estate to another estate in a different Uganda town. The present city council housing committee appears to have continued the policy of periodically transferring an estate manager from one estate to another, except that this is only to estates, including the other development areas, within and under the administration of the city.

The position of the estate manager deserves some consideration since it is somewhat analogous to that of the African village headman or other lower ranks of the bureaucracy established by the colonial authorities. The analogy is, of course, a loose one but, like the village headman, the estate manager shares ties of common residence, though not of kinship, with the tenants under his charge, and also occupies an essential intermediary but extremely vulnerable position between the higher ranks of the administration and the administered subjects. His position is vulnerable since he is under pressure from exacting demands made of him by both superordinates and interactin subordinates. On the one hand the city council housing committee impresses upon him the scarcity of funds and the necessity of forwarding to them only those demands which may be met by the meagre budget devoted to housing. And on the other hand, the tenants' association committee regard his constant blocking of suggestions and complaints as unfair administration. The manager is associated, too, with the more unpleasant day-to-day tasks of running an estate, such as evicting tenants who have not been able to pay their rents,

and haranguing them for any uncleanliness or negligence, especially by children, on the estate.

In the higher status estates of Naguru and Ntinda, a large proportion of each estate's male population is invariably far more educated and occupationally superior than the manager. This certainly diminishes what respect there may be for his authority, and makes his task all the more difficult. In a rather oblique manner, this fact was responsible for the eviction of a manager from Naguru by the tenants' association. The committee in one case had complained that the manager was too uneducated to deal with them and had demanded from the city housing committee, and had received, a slightly more educated and generally more sophisticated manager.

Offices in the tenants' association executive committee are, of course, unpaid. For the more devoted incumbents they involve a fair amount of time spent in the preparation of circulars announcing meetings, the arrangement of meetings themselves, both general and executive, and the drawing up of agenda and recording of recommendations

Members of the committee are able to display powers of oratory and to exercise a little authority. As tenants themselves, in unpaid positions but in an association recognised and encouraged by the urban authorities, they are respected residents of the estate.

An officer in the tenants association is generally regarded as a leader in the estate, and is awarded prestige for the position he holds. He is a "big man", not only because he is the incumbent of an office in the tenants' association, but also because he is likely to have been above the socio-economic average of the estate to have been elected in the first place. Prestige, as it were, begets

prestige. In what is essentially a "modern" field of activity the tenants' association with its written constitution, official communication with the city council, and quasi-bureaucratic administration, encourages people to think of leadership in it as the prerogative of the most educated tenants. For those who are sufficiently acquainted with urban life, relatively high education is largely inseparable from superior occupation and sartorial elegance, and it is tenants who can successfully display such characteristics who stand the greatest chances of being elected into an office of this association.

All of the six officers of the Nakawa tenants' association's executive committee have seven or eight years of education. All but one are clerks and require the use of English in their jobs. Their respective monthly wages are approximately Shs.750/-, 600/-, 500/-, 450/-, 300/-, and 200/-. Of the six officers of the Naguru tenants association three hold senior secondary or technical education, that is, over eight years, two have eight years, and one has six years, but has taught himself well beyond this standard. Four of the six are high grade clerks, one is a full-time trade union official, and one a trained technician. Their monthly wages are Shs.850/-, 800/-, 650/-, 610/-, 450/-, and 350/-. The wages of officers in both associations are, with only one exception, above the median monthly income of 243/50 for both estates. Even the one exception's wage is above that of the average of his lower status estate, Nakawa. For their respective estates, nearly all officers hold occupations which are highly prestige-ranked. Their educational standing, especially when the extent to which many of them have informally advanced themselves is taken into account, is also higher than the

average for the residents of the estate in which they live.

Many of these officers also hold positions of leadership in other associations, both tribal and non-tribal. Evidently, they characterise those persons who are gratified with the multiple performance of numerous leadership roles. Furthermore, a leadership process entailing successively more prestigeful leadership roles is generally instrumental to an overall achievement of prestige.

The fact that the prestige-bearing nature of office in the tenants' association rests on the fulfilment of socio-economic criteria in evaluated relation to the other residents of the estate is clearly what one would conventionally understand as an attribute of upward urban social mobility.

It is significant that five of the six main officers of the Nakawa tenants' association figure among the twelve clerks, listed in chapter IV, who have moved to Upper from Lower Nakawa. These and other locality association leaders constitute a locality elite. Movement to or prior residence in Upper Nakawa appears to be a prerequisite of full acceptance in this elite. Thus, some active non-committee members who have not yet been awarded an official title may live in Lower Nakawa. These typify persons who may be regarded as peripheral to the elite.

The debating societies of each of the estates were established, officials stated, as a forum for the improvement of tenants' English. All debates are in English. Only those tenants whose fluency in English is well above average feel confident enough to attend, let alone speak at a debate. The debating society provides a useful local field of leadership or prestige activity for the tenant whose

English and oratory are good. It is regarded as the prime reserve of each estate's elite.

The Naguru and Nakawa debating societies engage in competitions with each other. The competition is not so weighed in favour of Naguru as might be imagined. The Nakawa society is more active and its members keener, so that the discrepancy between them and their more educated Naguru counterparts is temporarily reduced. Figures of attendance vary from sixty to eighty persons, though only a minority of these speak from the floor. A substantial proportion of this number of Nakawa tenants always make the trip over the Jinja Road to Naguru if the particular competition is held there. One supporter told me, "We are going to battle, so we must be well represented". There is not the same migration of supporters from Naguru when the competition is held at Nakawa. The impression is that it is the Nakawa society's supporters who regard themselves as on the offensive, while the Naguru society is unconsciously defending its position as representative of the higher status locality.

This expression of offense and defence was evident, as I illustrate in chapter IV, in the claims for individual recognition by Nakawa Tenants association executive members to the estate manager and in the complaints by Naguru householders that Nakawa and Kiswa "people" were using their estate's facilities and creating noise and disturbances

The debating society is both educational and recreational in aim. There are other formal and informal associations which are primarily recreational in aim. The subtribe soccer associations of the Luo and Luhya, the rounds of drinking parties, the sets of people and some full tribal associations sponsoring dances at each of the estates,

are all recreational. But exclusive though they may be with regard to their respective potential membership, they are inclusive of a larger number of relatively low status persons than is the debating society and the locality association I now discuss. This is the Y.M.C.A.

The Y.M.C.A. attracts those persons who feel they can make a contribution to the welfare of the community through discussions, the holding of fraternities often of a multi-racial nature, and, especially on the estates, through the sponsoring of dances.

Executive committee meetings of branches throughout Kampala, and many discussions and social functions use English as the medium of general communication. Leaders in the associations may aspire to a position in the central committee, which is located outside Kampala East and nearer the city's centre. Leaders or officers of the association are all fluent speakers of English, educated and with superior occupations, and from relatively high-status orthodox Christian families.

For the most part and except for the occasional dances it organises, this association also appears for most of the estate's residents the prime reserve of the local elite.

Most tenants are aware that the tenahts' association has been established for their benefit and, however difficult to attain a position of leadership in it may seem, the ordinary tenant feels at least a minor part of the association. The same cannot be said of the debating society and Y.M.C.A. The ordinary tenant feels remote from them, not only in any aspiration for greater leadership he may have, but also, as a potential ordinary member, in an awareness of

the rather estranged and exclusive interests they share.

The tenants' association is thus distinguished from the two other locality associations, the debating society and Y.M.C.A., as being more definitely attached to the estate's common populace.

But the Y.M.C.A. may also be distinguished from the debating society. The latter's scale of activities is mostly confined to the estate and is sometimes extended to the second estate. But the Y.M.C. is a branch of an organisation of city- and nation-wide stature. The appointment and promotion of officers takes place within a definite hierarchy of wide scale. Competence, relatively high education and a general bearing of sophistication denote branch leaders of the highes order who may conceivably be promoted to a more senior office.

Persons who regard their offices as suitable contexts for playing leadership roles may aspire to such senior positions. If successful in their aspirations, they may confer in the company of city councillor and other notables and, provided they have maintained any position they have in the tenants' association, may at the same time continue to be in intimate communication with a large proportion of the estate's population.

Such a situation provides the incumbent, especially if he also holds a dominant position of tribal leadership in his tribe's association, with an excellent opportunity of convincing one of the political parties of his popularity, and of persuading it to support his nomination as a candidate at the city council elections.

The U.P.C. sub-branches for each of Naguru and Nakawa are not viable political associations. They are confined to each locality and seem to have been established in an attempt to exert political

influence on each estate's residents. This aim is superseded in fact by wider scale political agencies located in the city centre or, for the Kenyans, in the ward as a whole, but they are considered in the present context since their few leaders are mostly also leaders in other locality associations.

As with tribal associations, it is difficult to measure actual membership numbers in each of these locality associations. The tenants' association had a maximum attendance of over 500 residents at its annual general meeting, though ordinary general meetings are attended by between one or two hundred. The debating society may attract between sixty or eighty residents if the motion and meeting are well publicised. The Y.M.C.A. branch attracts between twenty or thirty regular members, though its frequently held dances held in either of the community halls of each estate are attended by up to two hundred people. The U.P.C. sub-branches are not viable, and rarely have more than twenty-five participants in any capacity.

However, one may distinguish the relatively small number of persons who are either committee members or active non-committee members from those who are irregular participants in an association's activities and who may run to the numbers I have stated.

The small core of active persons, as well as a few who are less active but reasonably interested in the association's welfare, may alone constitute the "paid-up membership". Using the number of paid-up members in an association as a criterion of its "size" detracts from the social image and impact it has on the residents of a locality, who may attend a meeting or dance occasionally if not regularly.

The tenants' associations, however, do have a regular paid-up membership of more than fifty persons at Nakawa and just over forty at Naguru. The annual subscription is 1/- on each estate. The Y.M.C.A. branch expects an annual subscription of 10/-, the debating society and U.P.C. sub-branches 5/- per annum. Interestingly, the subscriptions due to some full tribal associations and to most sub-trib and clan associations are monthly as well as annual, a fact suggesting that tribal associations of all levels exhibit more corporate solidarit than locality associations.

Below, I list the numbers of "regular members", based on my own observation and given as specific numbers by locality association leaders (who were always tempted to exaggerate them), the frequency of general meetings (executive meetings were twice or thrice as frequen and the current state of funds, if any.

		No. of regular members	Frequency of general meetings	Funds
Tenants association	Naguru	c.200	monthly	c.400/-
	Nakawa	103	"	185/-
Debating society	Naguru	82	irregularly, though, at one period, monthly	-
	Nakawa	61	"	21/-
Y.M.C.A. branches	Naguru	28	fortnightly	83/-
	Nakawa	21	"	45/-
U.P.C. sub-branches	Naguru	18	irregularly	33/-
	Nakawa	13	"	-

A striking feature of comparison is the similarity in numbers of regular members and in the frequency of general meetings on the two estates. From remarks by Nakawa leaders to the effect, "We must assert ourselves", it is probable that their locality associations are regarded as in competition with and emulation of those at Naguru and that this explains the similarity. That there should be little

similarity in the states of funds is probably due to the fact that they are not usually openly proclaimed and therefore not open to comparison, except at each estate's tenants' association annual general meeting.

On this occasion, the election of new officers is held, together with the announcement of the funds held by the tenants' association. Praise is usually made of the work done by outgoing officers who are expected to render their thanks to fellow officers and the "community". The ritualising of these proceedings seems to emphasise "civic" unity as opposed to inter-tribal rivalry as it is commonly an outgoing officer of a different and in other contexts opposing tribe who propose the initial vote of thanks for a fellow officer.

I should emphasise at this point that women are not at all significant in the activities of the locality associations. They are not constitutionally barred from attendance at meetings, but only a handful do attend.

One woman, the wife of a member of the Nakawa local elite, comes to the general meetings of the tenants' association. Five women, also wives of men of the Naguru local elite, attend this estate's tenants' association general meetings. Two unmarried Ganda women are fairly regular members of the Naguru Y.M.C.A. branch.[1] No other women participate in the locality associations.

Women are predominantly significant in the sphere of Christian religious activity run by the Gospel Mission to Uganda. Much of the

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[1] As is perhaps already obvious the Y.M.C.A. is not exclusively male, Christian, or patronised by "young" persons.

activity consists of gospel singing, the chanting of prayers, and processions in and around the city. I was unable to obtain data on whose wives figured so prominently in the local branches of this organisation. Certainly, very few men attended. The few men and women participants I asked said that Ganda, Rwanda, and Luo women were the most in evidence. A more striking impression was that few men concerned in some way with the activities of the organisation were also concerned with the locality associations, including the Y.M.C.A. Some constant male members of church organisations appeared to feel a definite conflict in participation in another associational sphere; often, trade unionists were spoken of as "causing trouble", politician as "ungodly", and those concerned with recreation, the organising of dances and football matfhes as in some way "immoral".

The Catholic church, sited on Naguru hill, just outside the estate, draws persons of the conventional "middle class" who live as much at Ntinda or Kololo as at Naguru.

b) Distinguishing the Naguru and Nakawa Local Elites

I have spoken of the socio-economic qualifications for leadership in locality associations. In absolute terms they are more stringent at Naguru than at Nakawa. But in describing each estate's local elite it is the way in which such leaders stand in socio-economic relation to each estate's population that is significant. I show this significance by denoting certain socio-economic status attributes of leaders of locality associations. I include also tribal membership, age, and length of residence in Kampala, together with their additional leaders roles, if any, in full and sectional tribal associations.

TABLE VIII (a) Status Attributes of Members of the Naguru Local Elite

Association and Offices	TRIBE	Income	Occupation	Years of Education	Years' Residence in Kampala	Age	Whether also leader in Full Tribal (F), Sub-tribe (S), or Clan (C) Associations
TENANTS' ASSOCIATION							
1 Chairman	Alur	850/-	Clerk	6	10	37	F
2 Vice-Chairman	Luhya	800/-	Trade Union Secretary	10	9	32	
3 Secretary	Acholi	650/-	Technician	12	6	31	
4 Assistant Secty.	Samia	450/-	Clerk	9	7	26	
5 Treasurer	Padhola	350/-	Clerk	8	10	35	F
6 Asst. Treasurer	Alur	610/-	Clerk	8	8	29	
DEBATING SOCIETY							
7 Chairman	see 1						
8 Vice-Chairman	see 3						
9 Secretary	Nyoro	480/-	Clerk	10	6	31	
10 Asstn Secretary	Janam	780/-	Clerk	8	8	29	F
11 Treasurer	Luo	470/-	Clerk	8	9	28	
12 Asst. Treasurer	Ganda	460/-	Clerk	8	9	32	
Y.M.C.A. BRANCH							
13 Chairman	Toro	710/-	Office Superintendent	10	5	25	
14 Vice-Chairman	see 12						
15 Secretary	see 9						
16 Asst. Secretary	see 5						
17 Treasurer	see 12						
18 Asst. Treasurer	see 4						
U.P.C. SUB-BRANCH							
19 Chairman	Soga	600/-	Clerk	9	6	25	
20 Vice-Chairman	Ganda	440/-	Copytypist	8	7	29	
21 Secretary	see 2						
22 Treasurer	see 6						

TABLE VIII (b) Status Attributes of Members of the Nakawa Local Elite

Association and Offices	TRIBE	Income	Occupation	Years of Education	Years' Residence in Kampala	Age	Whether also leader in Full Tribal (F), Sub-tribe (S), or Clan (C) Associations
TENANTS' ASSOCIATION							
1 Chairman	Janam	600/-	Clerk	7	9	31	F
2 Vice-Chairman	Luo	450/-	Clerk	7	7	27	
3 Secretary	Samia	300/-	Clerk	8	8	30	F
4 Asst. Secretary	Lugbara	500/-	Clerk	8	6	26	
5 Treasurer	Luo	750/-	Clerk	7	8	31	S
6 Asst.Treasurer	Luo	200/-	Storekeeper	7	10	28	S and C
7)Active non-com-	Luhya	150/-	Painter	6	8	26	S and C
8 (mittee members	Acholi	230/-	Clerk	7	11	36	F
DEBATING SOCIETY							
9 Chairman	See 5						
10 Vice-Chairman	Kiga	375/-	Clerk	8	8	31	F
11 Secretary	see 3						
12 Asst. Secretary	see 4						
13 Treasurer	Ganda	520/-	Salesman	10	11	34	
Y.M.C.A. BRANCH							
14 Chairman	see 4						
15 Secretary	Alur	410/-	Clerk	9	6	27	
16 Asst. Secretary	see 3						
17 Treasurer	see 5						
18 Active non-com-)	Lugbara	350/-	Telephone Operator	7	6	33	F (branch)
19 mittee members (	Janam	290/-	Carpenter	9	7	27	F
U.P.C. SUB-BRANCH							
20 Chairman	see 2						
21 Secretary	see 10						
22 Treasurer	Ganda	215/-	Storekeeper	7	10	31	

The median monthly income of residents is Shs.319/- and 164/- at Naguru and Nakawa respectively. All members of each local elite have incomes above these respective medians. Most have incomes above the median of both estates, which is Shs.243/50. The occupation of all leaders fall into the category of skilled and clerical requiring the use of English, except for one, Nakawa No.7, who does, however, speak English. The leaders are above the average for each estate in education, though I can only validate this by the usual intensely acquired impressions. All leaders have resided in Kampala for longer than the average of each estate. They are drawn from the 25-35 age category which encompasses the majority of Kampala's labour migrants.

A common factor of locality associations on both Naguru and Nakawa is the general monopolisation of offices or leadership roles by a very small number of the estate's population. These leaders constitute the local elite I have already referred to.

The Nakawa local elite is constituted as follows. Within the four locality associations, there are 23 offices or positions of leadership, though the actual number of leaders is 14, including four active non-committee members who, though they are untitled, are generally regarded as at least peripheral members of the elite. This number comprises three Luo, two Luhya/Samia, two Lugbara, two Jonam, two Ganda, and one Alur, Acholi and Kiga. All except three leaders have more than one office. Of these three, two are Ganda and one an Alur. Ganda are not prominent in the leadership and membership of associations in Kampala East. The Alur did have additional offices in the tenant's and his own tribal Alur associations

but eventually moved to Naguru and out of the sphere of Nakawa locality associations, incidentally relinquishing his tribal associatio office.

Of the 14 members of Nakawa's local elite, six are ledders in their full tribal associations and three in sub-tribe and clan associations also.

Only one member of the elite has fully attained leadership in civic/political associations. He is a trade unionist, a leader of a Kampala-wide KANU club, and an unsuccessful independent candidate at the 1962 Kampala municipal council elections.

The Naguru local elite numbers thirteen persons who occupy 22 positions of office in the four locality associations. Eight of them have moved to Naguru from Nakawa but have resided at Naguru for at least three years. The thirteen consist of two Alur, two Luyha/Samia, two Ganda, and one Janam, Padhola, Luo, Acholi, Soga, Nyoro and Toro.

Only three of these thirteen are or have been full tribal association leaders. None of them is or has been a sectional tribal association leader. Of these three, two were candidates at the 1962 Kampala municipal council elections. One, an Alur, was elected.

A feature immediately distinguishing the two local elites is the fact that nine members at Nakawa were also full or sectional tribal association leaders, while only three held such positions at Naguru. One of them in fact relinquished his position on moving to Naguru.

Table VIII indicates that no locality association on either estate exceeded six titles of office. In two Nakawa associations I deemed it advisable to include in the local elite two highly active

but untitled members. The fact that they were so active, certainly more active than some elected leaders, yet were not awarded titles of office is significant. The tendency in tribal associations is for there to be a greater plethera of titled members. This is especially the case among sub-tribe and clan associations and sometimes the case among full tribal associations. In the locality associations there is a lesser plethora even though "regular" membership figures do not vary very much from those of full ~~extended~~ and sectional tribal associations.

Banton has noted that volunatary associations in Freetown may be accorded different measures of prestige. He noted further that "the higher an association is in the (prestige) scale the greater the proportion of officers to ordinary members it seems to have". He gives two possible reasons as to why this should be so. He states that the people attracted to the more prestigeful associations are the "modernist element". That this element "is most strongly attracted to the best Freetown companies..... may be because they are the most sensitive to the new forces making for a general levelling out, or it may be because they are the most cut-off from the traditional status conferring institutions like the lineage." He compares this situation with the "tendency in Europe" for "the proportion of offices" in the "more esteemed societies" to decline.[1]

The comparison between the association prestige hierarchies in Freetown and Kampala East is limited since, while Banton suggests that some different tribespeoples may be prepared to rank each other's associations, sometimes above their own, I could find no agreement at all on this kind of external ranking of tribal associations. This

[1] M. Banton, 1957, op.cit, p.192.

does not invalidate the notion of, say, the somewhat isolated Lugbara admitting that being a Ganda in Kampala certainly carries more prestige than being a Lugbara. The Nilotes and Teso, particularly, rarely conceded such deference, except for occasional specific situations.

It is interesting, however, that locality associations in Kampala East, including the popularly attended tenants' associations, have smaller proportions of officers than full and sectional tribal associations, the reverse of the situation in Freetown and one more in keeping with the "tendency in Europe".

I would suggest that the reason for this derives from the very fact that locality associations are non-tribal and are generally prestige-ranked above tribal associations. There are fewer locality than tribal associations. A leader in one of the former has more exclusive status. He and his fellow officers may consolidate the exclusiveness of their positions by restricting the number of titled positions. It is an essential characteristic of elites of any sectional level to maintain the pre-eminence of their positions through policies of exclusion.

By virtue of the same characteristic, full tribal association leaders, who constitute a tribal elite over clan association leaders, have proportionally fewer titled officers than the latter. In one association of the Luhya clan, Lukokha, thirteen of the twenty-two members hold titled positions of one kind or another. The association of the Marama subtribe, of which Lukokha is a constituent clan, has fifty members, only six of whom have titled positions. The full Luhya association or union has about the same number of officers though a much less regular membership.

Thus, in the associations of Kampala East, the decline in proportions of officers to ordinary members is in inverse relation to the positions in the prestige hierarchy held by the associations.

The positions of individual leaders have to be seen against this feature of the hierarchy. Thus, Nakawa No.7 is president of the Lukokha clan association. He has also been highly active in establishing the Marama subtribe association and another more general Luhya fraternity association. But he is not prominent in the full Luhya association and is no more than an active but untitled member of the Nakawa tenants' association. He lives in Lower and not Upper Nakawa, and this fact, and the fact also that he is a painter rather than, say, a clerk, typifies the limited extent of his leadershi role-sequence.

I indicated above that most full and sectional tribal leaders live at Nakawa. At Nakawa, some full and subtribe association leaders are also members of the estate's local elite. In a very general sense, therefore, full and sectional tribal elites tend to provide members of the Nakawa local elite. Since few tribal association leaders of any level live at Naguru, the full and sectional tribal elites may not be said to contribute significantly to this estate's local elite.

Thus far, the monopolisation of leadership roles by the Nakawa elite pertains to both tribal and locality associations. At Naguru, it pertains only to locality associations.

But the local elite at Naguru is of higher educational and socio-economic status than that of Nakawa. Its relations with the city council housing committee are at once more direct. I indicated

above how it successfully demanded the dismissal of an estate manager. Other instances of claim and protest illustrate how much more influential the Naguru elite is in matters of this kind.

My earlier premise that non-tribal associations as a whole rank above tribal associations would seem to be endorsed. The leadership of tribal assoications is only significantly undertaken by persons of the less prestigeful Nakawa estate, whereas, though locality associations are led by persons on both estates, it is the Naguru leaders who are of higher status and have wider scale impact.

This wider scale impact is especially seen in the greater tendency of members of Naguru's local elite and of some ordinary residents to attain office or positions of leadership in civic/political associations.

c) Civic/Political Associations and the Leadership Role-Sequence

In the two local elites, I stated that two members at Naguru had aimed at positions of city councillor. One of them was successful At Nakawa, one member of the local elite attempted to attain this position. He was unsuccessful.

All three were full tribal association leaders at the time of their nominations. The two Naguru men, an Alur and a Janam, were each selected as candidates by the two major national political parties Their deposits and campaign costs were paid for by these two parties. Administration of the campaign was through the party branches of Kampala East. The party branch officials stated that their reasons for selecting these two men as candidates were that they were prominent members of Naguru's local elite and that they were also tribal leaders.

The Alur was president of the Naguru tenants' association and president of the Alur tribal association. The Janam was, in fact, an active non-committee member of the Naguru tenants' association and Y.M.C.A., and was assistant secretary of the estate's debating society. To members of the political party branch which nominated him as a candidate for the city council elections, he had appeared a more central figure in the Naguru local elite than his positions of leadership in locality associations suggest. He had been a central figure in Nakawa's local elite when he lived there some eight years previously. He was the secretary and most forceful and effective member of his tribal association. The variety of positions of leadership he had occupied from time to time had magnified his public image in the eyes of the party branch officials.

The one member of the Nakawa elite, a Luo, who attempted to attain a position of civic/political leadership failed to be nominated by the political party branch he approached.

He was the second most popular member of Nakawa's local elite. Few households were unable to direct a stranger to his house in Upper Nakawa.

He never became a full tribal association leader until after his failure at the municipal council elections. At the time when he applied to the political party branch for nomination, he was a leader of a subtribe association. He was also a leader in the National Union of Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees. Thus, though he occupied the important position of trade union leader, he was only a sectional tribal leader and member of the local elite of the lower status estate of Nakawa.

The officials of the political party branch therefore turned down his application for nomination by the party. They suggested that if he had been a full association leader of the numerous Luo in Kampala East and if he had been prominent in the local elite of Naguru rather than that of Nakawa, they would have supported his application.

The Luo continued nevertheless to aim at the position of municipal councillor and put up his own deposit to stand as an independent candidate. He also paid his own campaigning costs but was unable to compete in publicity and ostentation with his rivals who campaigned under political party banners. He admitted after his failure that he had "jumped too quickly" from leadership at Nakawa and his sub-tribe to an attempt at leadership within the ward at the level of the city council. He had felt, however, that his position of leadership in a trade union had qualified him for a jump of this kind. Significantly, he has now moved to Naguru where one may assume he will attempt to achieve positions of leadership in locality associations and so gain entry into Naguru's local elite. He has also become a leader in the Luo Union sports club, from where he may eventually be elected onto the association's executive committee.

As a Kenyan, he was disfranchised by the time of the next city council elections. He stated that he would certainly have reapplied for nomination by the political party of his choice and expected he would have been accepted and elected to the city council. Disfranchis he turned his attention like so many expatriate Kenyans to the politica affairs of his own nation and sought and achieved leadership in the Kampala K.A.N.U. club, occasionally acting as travelling liaison

between the club and party headquarters in Nairobi, his nation's capital.

The Alur and Janam of Naguru are Ugandans and were not affected by disfranchisement.

The Alur was successfully elected onto the city council and appears to have consolidated his position there as one of its most active members. But his devotion of time and energy at this level of leadership brought accusations from his fellow residents at Naguru that he was neglecting his position as president of the tenants' association. He gradually moved up and out of the company of fellow members of the local elite. His position as tribal association leader has become almost nominal. His fellowtribesmen see themselves as a minority group in Kampala, and in Kampala East especially, and view his civic/political position of leadership as beneficial to them and do not, therefore, accuse him of neglect through inattendance at the tribal association's meetings.

The Janam was bitterly disappointed at his failure at the city council elections. At the time when he was nominated by the political party branch, and during the preparations and campaign leading up to the election, his former drive and forcefulness became conspicuously absent in his tribal association. His fellowtribesmen are also a minority tribe in Kampalla. At his failure at the city council elections, they accused him of having neglected his duties in the tribal association for the sake of wanting to acquire prestige "and a name" as a city councillor.

One may speculate that if he had been successfully elected to the city council, their attitude would have been one of approval as

was the case with the minority tribe above. The Janam's office in the Naguru debating society and his rather peripheral membership of the local elite were not affected by his attempt and failure at the city council elections. One may assume that, as a fairly marginal member of the local elite, his positions were not regarded as sufficiently vested in rights and privileges to bring about accusations of neglect as was the case with the Alur.

These three examples of leadership role-sequence show how positions of leadership in variously evaluated associations of different operative scales affect each other. An ideal paradigm would consist of a man moving from leadership of a clan or subtribe association to leadership in various Nakawa locality associations and at the same time, or perhaps a little before or after, assuming leadership in a full tribal association. Residential movement from Nakawa to Naguru would then follow. A position as full or sectional tribal leader might then be relinquished, though not necessarily. But leadership in Naguru locality associations and entry into the local elite would be likely if the person has more extensive leadership ambitions. With full acceptance into the Naguru local elite, and sometimes with a continuing position of full tribal leadership, the person would be in a favourable position to request and be granted nomination by the ward's political party branch for candidature at the city council elections.

Both success and failure at the city council elections may bring about accusations of neglect by fellowtribesmen or residents, since the new city councillor will have moved from membership of a

tribal and/or local elite to apparent inclusion in an elite which transcends these two and is significant in a civic/political context reaching from the ward to the city.

The requirements of leadership role playing in the civic/political context are stringent. The position is time consuming. Issues concerning the city council have implications for a relatively large population. Political party oppositions and alignments give the issues additional wide scale importance. The city councillor himself moves into a higher status social milieu where conspicuous personal prestige counts for much in social relations. It si small wonder, therefore, that original sectional or local followings may feel that their leader has lost interest in them and their affairs.

Some city countillors have not been so intimately involved in a large number of tribal and locality associations. They have, as it were, started "near the top". But to do this they must have exceptionally high attributes of status in the first place. Their incomes must be exceptionally high and their occupations, apparent level of education, and place of residence or type of house must impress upon the populace their already real or near inclusion in the city's central elite.

One Luo had for some years been known in Kampala as an occupational superior and wealthy but generous man. He commonly rode a bicycle rather than drove a car and frequented beer bars in Kampala East as well as clubs in the city centre. He lived at Ntinda but habitually welcomed "friends" from Naguru and Nakawa to his house.

He was spoken of by Luo as a man "who is big yet not proud".

He never assumed more than a part-time position of leadership in the Luo Union. Instead, he established an association called the Uganda Kenya African Union to help Kenya migrants in Uganda regardless of tribe and act as their mouthpiece during periods of alleged discriminati He was one of a small number of persons specially appointed rather than elected to the city council so that he did not have to campaign under a political party banner and so declare his political allegiances.

His assumption at the position of city councillor was not resented by his tribal populace since he had always been regarded as a virtual member of the city's central elite and could not, therefore, be accused of having neglected an indispensable leadership role in the Luo Union. And, indeed, he had never played much more than a nominal role in the Union. At the same time, his concern to give a "humble" yet affluent image of himself to his fellowtribesmen indicates that he believed he needed their support and did not wish to incur their disapproval. He continued to organise the Uganda Kenya African Union and could not be accused of neglect on that account.

This Luo is distinct from the three leaders previously described in that the span of his leadership role-sequence is minimal and does not involve him in a conflict of obligations to different scale populace

Trade union leaders commonly aspire to their positions by way of the occupational structure and by mobilising support from workmates or from fellow members of an occupational category. Their activities are removed from the activities of associations which are specific to an estate and ward. Thus, within the two local elites there is only one person who was a trade union oficer. An estate is heterogeneous in the occupational distribution of its residents so that a trade union

leader does not seek support from within its population. His union is specific to a trade or occupational category, the members of which may only usefully be contacted through the medium of workplace. But it does so happen that many of the Kampala-based trade union leaders live in Kampala East, at Naguru and Ntinda rather than Nakawa. Again, this is due to the special position of Kampala East.

Trade union leadership enjoys with city councillorship roles of the widest social scale. In this way, trade unions may be said to be more prestigeful than the political party branches which nominate a city council candidate but which are confined in their immediate activities to the city ward.

To study trade unions and their leadership intensively would go outside the bounds of this particular enquiry, but it is necessary to describe briefly the wide operative scale of trade unions to illustrate their transcendental position in any prestige-ranking of associations in Kampala East.

All non-tribal leadership so far described is somehow confined in its aims to a local area within the context of both locality and civic/political associations. Tenants' associations, debating societies, Y.M.C.A. branches, political party branches, and city councillors all nominally represent public service to an estate, ward or constituency. In fact, as I have shown, each caters for different populaces within such areas, and leadership in each represents a different degree of prestige enjoyed.

But trade unions are never specific to a local area of residence. They are born and find their existence in the factory, office or government department. They may be specific to one or a number of

firms, to one or two towns or to the towns of the nation as a whole. They are alwasy specific to a trade, set of trades, set of occupational categories, or to a particular industrial or administrative sector.

The extensive social and physical span of trade union leadership is reflected in at least three facets of its organisation. The first is the increasing frequency with which "promising" union officials are sent overseas, to Britain, Germany and Sweden, to undergo a three-month course in trade uninn administration. Some union leaders who have been chosen to undertake a trip and course of this nature place themselves in the prestige category of students who have been enrolled in an overseas university. The second facet is the actual or possible attendance by a ledder at one or more of the international conferences now and increasingly a domain of African trade unionism. The third is the existence of the African Labour College in Kampala, which was founded and staffed in 1958 by the International Confederatic of Free Trade Unions to train union officials from any part of English-speaking Africa. Up until 1963 most of the College's staff were from North America and Europe. Union officials who successfully complete a course at the College are appointed to a full-time and relatively highly paid position of leadership in a recognised union. Usually no more than one officer in a trade union operates in this professional capacity. But his high social standing also sheds prestige on the positions occupied by his voluntary fellow officers and on trade union leadership generally. That they should interact as leaders in an organisation appears as evidence of their approximate abilities, and this is strengthened by the knowledge of each voluntary

leader that he himself may also be chosen for further education in trade unionism either abroad or at home.

An additional and perhaps decisive factor conferring the greatest prestige to trade union leadership is the tendency for the most able union officials to be promoted to positions of management by the companies for which they work.[1] This tendency constantly weakens trade union leadership and may be deplored on that account as hindering the full development of the trade union movement. But, as far as the individual worker is concerned, as well as the union official himself, the tendency clearly illustrates the high esteem in which the able trade union leader is held by both employer and employed. Indded, since "union activity undoubtedly serves as an indicator of leadership ability.....it is interesting to ponder whether able men enter the unions as a means to bring themselves to the attention of employers".[2]

Trade union leadership, then, is highly prestigeful by dint of its extensive social and physical scale. The openly recognised link in promotion opportunities between top union leadership and management confers additional prestige. Trade unionism as a field of activity is associated with urban migrants of relatively high status. Both active and ordinary members and leaders tend to be well above the socio-economic average of workers, and are generally drawn from the clerical, non-manual occupational categories.

At August 1963 there were 41 registered trade unions in Uganda,

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1 R. Scott, 1962, Paper given to staff seminar, Faculty of Social Science, Makerere University College.

2 R. Scott, op.cit, p.10.

most of them with their headquarters in Kampala. In 1961 the wage earning population of Uganda was 254,200, of whom 26,300, less than 10% were trade union members. In Tanganyika and Kenya in 1961 and 1962 respectively, 37% and 32% of the wage-earning populations were members of trade unions. Uganda has thus shown a relative deficiency in trade union leadership, organisation and membership. But this fact does not alter the public conception of high prestige accruing to leadership and active membership in the unions. Indeed, the fact that clerks are dominant in the unions and the fact that they are likely to be estranged from the interests of the mass of the workers may serve to perpetuate this conception, and may strengthen a conviction that many trade unions are exclusive of the bulk of the working population.

d) Leadership and the Segmentary/Centralised Tribal Distinction

In the chapter on tribal associations I indicated that urban migrants of centralised tribes generally do not establish formal tribal associations. Segmentary tribesmen, on the other hand, emphasise the formation of such associations. Within the sphere of non-tribal associations, there is no indication in my data that this major societal distinction is of particular significance. In Kampala East there are more segmentary than centralised tribesmen and this fact may explain the greater partmcipation in tenants' associations by the former, in addition to which we cannot deny that the Kenya Luo, Luhya and Samia have a particular acumen for association leadership and formation. On the other hand, when relative proportion of segmentary and centralised tribesmen are considered in the light

of their respective participation in non-tribal associations, the distinction bears no apparent significance.

TABLE IX

Proportions of Naguru and Nakawa household heads and locality associati leaders according to the segmentary/centralised tribal classification.

	No. of estate's household heads	As % of estate's total population	Nos. within local elite	As % of total no. in the elite
NAGURU				
Segmentary tribesmen	373	57.8	8	61.5
Centralised "	202	31.3	5	38.5
Others[1]	70	10.8	-	-
NAKAWA				
Segmentary tribesmen	680	82.5	12	85.5
Centralised "	111	13.5	2	16.5
Others	32	4.0	-	-
Both estates taken together				
Segmentary tribesmen	1053	71.7	20	74.0
Centralised "	313	21.3	7	26.0
Others	102	7.0	-	-

[1] This category includes many so-called Nubi, who are mostly Muslim and originally from the Sudan. Their specific tribal origins are diffuse and difficult to ascertain and, anyway, largely irrelevant to the societal distinction, since the Nubi have more or less severed most of these original contacts. It also includes members of certain Tanganyika and Coastal tribes who are non-centralised and organised into village communities not specifically based on the lineage principle.

The local elites each comprise too few members to attach too much significance to their breakdown into the two categories of segmentary and centralised tribesmen. But it is worth noting the close correlations in percentages given in Table IX, which indicate

that the ratio of household heads of segmentary to centralised tribes is almost the same as the ratio among members of the local elites.

This correlation suggests what I have observed, that the conceptual framework for formally organised "non-tribal" activities is borrowed from the councils, committees, societies and other organisations connected with the national and metropolitan establishmen and that a migrant's own traditional tribal socio-political structure is a secondary factor of formal administration.

This is also true, to a limited extent, of tribal associations, for which appropriately translated "executive" and "general meetings", and "annual elections" are held, and titled offices injected. Since, however, internal divisions of subtribe and clan are often significant, and since much of an association's aims are concerned with repatriation to the homeland of deceased persons and errant women and with both a rural and urban tribespeople's welfare, the prime conceptual framework according to which tribal associations are established may be said to derive from the respective traditional tribal structure.

It is, of course, only possible for a tribal association to recruit its leaders and members from within the tribe, since only these share the broader common interests and values of the homeland, even though the specific interests and values of urban individual and community welfare are shared by all townsmen.

In non-tribal associations these urban interests and values provide both the broader framework of organisation and the specific aims, and there is no reference to traditional tribal structures. It is only feasible, therefore, for a non-tribal association to recruit its leaders and members from those of any tribe who seem

best equipped to administer these aims. I have no exact figures on the distinction according to tribe of "regular" members of locality associations, but, certainly, there is no improportionate membership of either segmentary or centralised tribesmen.

Nor does the evidence from trade union leadership and membership lend significance to the distinction. It is true that the Luo, Luhya and Samia are dominant in the East African Railways and Harbours union and to a lesser extent in the Uganda Transport and General Workers Union, but it is the Ganda who are nowadays dominant in the National Union of Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees. In the Uganda Public Employees' Union it is neither the Kenyans nor Ganda but the northern Ugandans (Acholi, Lango, Alur) who are dominant. In the Trade Union Congress itself, not only are the Samia and Ganda equally influential but other tribal groups are also well represented.

The Ganda have entered urban wage employment in large numbers only in recent years. They have taken an increasingly larger proportion of clerical jobs. The National Union of Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees was led by a large number of Kenyans as late as 1962, but by 1963 the Ganda had become dominant. It appears, therefore, that many Kenyans were original and prime instigators of trade unionism in Uganda. But at the present stage of development in Ugandan trade unionism Kenyans no longer dominate the whole field of union activity. That they should have done so at one time may be partly explained by the peculiar leadership acumen which they appear to possess. Another causal factor, probably related to the first, may be their longer association with secondary

industrial centres in Kenya, the result of a more direct impact of European colonisation. As post-war migrants in Kampala it was inevitable that they should establish the beginnings of trade union activity, counterparts to which had already been established in Kenya. But the fact that they are non-centralised tribesmen was probably secondary to the more expected or 'normal' developmental correlation of industrial expansion and the growth of trade unions. Similarly, in Kampala at the present time, the dominant part now played by the centralised Ganda in some trade unions is a general result of the same developmental correlation.

That the societal distinction of centralised and segmentary lineage tribes appears insignificant with regard to the formation, leadership and membership of non-tribal associations is not surprising. Tribal associations of all levels rest for their formation and existence on the peculiar types of corporate solidarity emanating from the respective tribe's social structures - so that segmentary tribes are foremost in the establishing and administering of tribal associations. But non-tribal associations are by their very nature founded on principles opposed to the manifestation of tribal solidariti They are de jure inclusive of all tribes, even though de facto tribal clusters may develop within them. Their policies of exclusion, however, tend to stress membership of specific socio-economic categories rather than of specific tribal categories.

e) Summary

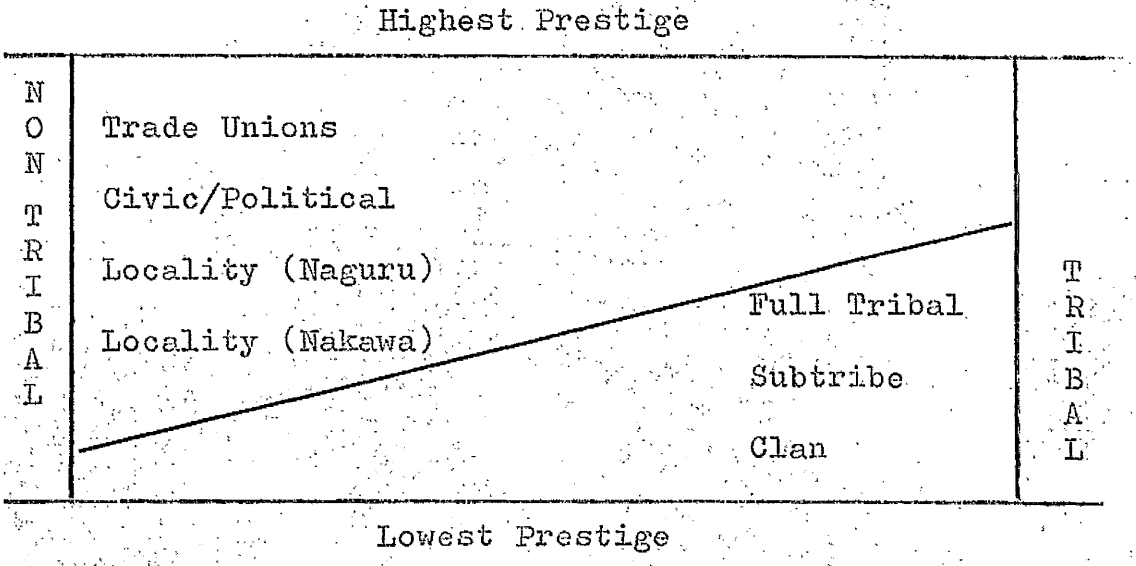
I have attempted to show that residents of a single ward do not conceive of the associations which are organised or have significance in their locality as a haphazard conglomeration of voluntary societies. For them, as much as for the anthropologist, there is a structure of local associations. This structure consists in the first place of two sub-structures, the tribal and non-tribal. Residents view this structural dichotomy by distinguishing the membership qualifications and behavioural and aim-contents of associations in either sub-structure Tribal associations are clearly exclusive to a tribe's urban population and are equally clearly concerned in some way with the welfare of this population. Non-tribal associations are at pains to exhibit their all-tribal inclusiveness and condemn any "tribalist" behaviour within their ranks.

It is generally more prestigeful to participate in the non-tribal than in the tribal sub-structure. Within each sub-structure types of association are further differentiated according to the prestige-fulness of participation in them.

At the base of this prestige-ranking or stratification of associations in Kampala East are associations whose activities are of a narrow social scale as distinct from those at its upper levels which are of a considerably wider social scale. The progressive widening of social scale for associations in the structure is accompanied in them by a progressively larger proportion of leaders and members who are of relatively high educational and occupational status, and who are increasingly likely to live at Naguru rather than Nakawa.

The stratified structure of voluntary associations may be represented diagrammatically:

Diagram showing differential prestige of participation in non-tribal and tribal associations in Kampala East.[1]



The diagonal line demarcating the sub-structures of non-tribal and tribal associations in Kampala East is more precise than a horizontal one. A horizontal line, for instance, would imply that all tribal associations ranked below all non-tribal associations. In fact, prominent leadership or office in some of the larger tribal associations, particularly the Luo and Luhya Unions, would rank above some of the lesser positions of leadership or office in the less prestigefu non-tribal associations. Without discrediting the general idea that non-tribal associations as a whole are ranked above tribal associations

[1] This diagram is based on one used to indicate the relation of class structure to race or caste relations between American Negroes and Whites, from The Warner Approach to Social Stratification, by R.R. Kornhauser, in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, eds, Class, Status and Power, Free Press of Glencoe, 1953.

the diagonal line attempts to illustrate, for example, that the chairma of the Luo Union is accorded more prestige, even by non-fellowtribesmen than the active but untitled member of the Nakawa tenants' association or Y.M.C.A.

The stratification of associations and leadership positions for centralised tribesmen may only begin in the local order through locality associations, simply because they have no tribal associations. A centralised tribesman's leadership role-sequence cannot, therefore, implicate him in a widely observable conflict of obligations to fellowtribesmen and non-fellowtribesmen supporters, of the kind experienced by the Luo and Janam who were discussed as examples.

A segmentary tribesman, ideally and sometimes necessarily, must traverse tribal leadership roles on his way first to locality and then to civic leadership. In this way, the local order provides an intermediate element in the stratification of associations and leadership positions, which extend upwards from clan or lineage to city-wide organisations. The local order does not provide an intermediate element for centralised tribesmen. These facts constitute stage two of the paradigm I have been constructing.

A segmentary tribesman who is a leader in both tribal and non-tribal associations is prone to conflicts of role-expectation by fellowtribesmen in much the same way as the man who moves to a higher status locality. In this latter case, too, it is the local order, with its emphasis on non-tribal and socio-economic criteria of role performance, which facilitates the achievement of a relative degree of individual urban independence by a segmentary tribesman in particular.

In this analogy, the local groups of agnates, clansmen, and fellowtribesmen of the aspirant to a higher status locality, may be compared with the full and sectional tribal association fellow members of the leader who aspires to office in locality and civic/political associations.

This analogy has sociological significance, since leadership, as a field of activity, is not entirely divorced from the lives of people who are not normally interested or involved in associations. Leadership must serve, if only indirectly, as an indicator of an objective structure of roles, groups, and values. In relation to this structure, persons otherwise largely disinterested from the more obvious activities of associations will make self- and alter-evaluations.

It is likely, therefore, that the presence and absence, respectively, of tribal associations among segmentary and centralised tribesmen in a relatively close-knit ward like Kampala East makes a difference in how each conceive of a wider urban system of stratificati and of the processes of mobility within it. This constitutes stage three of my paradigm.

Thus, the intermediate position for segmentary tribesmen of locality associations in a stratification of tribal, locality, and civic/political associations indicates a similarly intermediate position of local order non-leadership relationships, between those of the tribal and civic orders, in a wider system of social stratification and mobility.

This wider system of stratification, simply because it is a wider system governing, perhaps, the general shape of local and sectional systems, must derive from the ultimate reference groups. These ultimate reference groups may at one time have been European colonial administrators and settlers.[1] Now they are independent African politicians, administrators, employers and managers, who may still use the former as reference groups but who are becoming reference groups in their own right for mass urban-oriented populaces.

The wider system of stratification and the criteria according to which social mobility is achieved thus derive from the diffuse and rather residual civic order. The people of Kampala East occupy an intermediary position in this general social hierarchy as emergent middle and proletarian classes, who are sub-establishment but clearly distinguished from the large numbers of short-term target migrants.

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[1] J.C. Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, 1959, Occupational Prestige and Social Status, Africa, Vol.29. In central Africa, where Europeans are still more dominant and influential than in East Africa, a socio-economically differentiated urban African population reacts differently to the overall European reference group, but, apparently, none of them seek African models. In Kampala, the lesser number and significance of Europeans enables African elites to become the models partly imitated by the lower urban ranks. The same, presumably, can be said for most towns in western Africa. On the other hand, these same elites exhibit much that is originally of European derivation.

P A R T T H R E E

CHAPTER VII

THE CIVIC ORDER AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

a) The Logical Position of Workplace

I have defined the civic order as consisting of the affiliations of workplace and the occupational structure, and of relationships conducted by observing the demands of national civil and political administration, whether of the "establishment" or non-governing political parties. This definition also includes the rather loose ties of common nationhood.

Workplace and the occupational structure are linked with the other aspects of the civic order in being largely formalised and controlled by such agents as the government department of labour.

This formalising and relative control of workplace activities and structure is sometimes characteristic of those developing countries in which there is not the relatively autonomous but long-established pattern of such activities typical of some technologically more developed countries. In these latter, craft guilds succeeded by trade unions and professional associations have developed and operated in setting standards mostly without government control or guidance.

I indicated in the last chapter that civic/political associations are located outside the bounds of either tribe or locality. They are the formalised aspects of the very diffuse civic order. The prime reason for the diffuseness of this order is the fact that persons who are in relationships partly or wholly determined by it share little approximating to a common value-pattern. If the concept

"value-pattern" is too vague or uninformative, I may put the statement another way. Whereas among a single tribespeople and, to a lesser extent, among fairly long-term residents of a locality, there may be some measure of agreement as to what behaviour is appropriate in a given circumstance, that is, there is some normative congruence among the group's personnel, this measure of agreement is considerably reduced in the much wider scale relationships of the civic order. "Fellow citizenship" does not mean much in everyday real-life situations On the other hand, the fact that a man of one occupational category happens to meet or interact with a man of the same or another occupation category may have significance for each.

Workplace primary groups do achieve some degree of normative consensus. But each workplace group is autonomous of any other, and they are not logically interrelated to form a corporate secondary group of workers. Trade unions, I have said, are mostly led by white collar workers and do not obtain mass support of their potential followings.

For all this, the primary group of workplace appears to share certain characteristics of the neighbourhood primary group.

In this study I could not justify a full excursion into relationship of workplace and to give a brief summary of workplace relationship attributes does not do justice to a complex phenomenon. This much I venture to say. A common attribute of relationships specific to the neighbourhood and workplace primary groups is that the heterogeneity among role-partners of rights and privileges is more significant as a determinant of behaviour than their tribal heterogeneity.[1]

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[1] In chapter III I drew the same conclusion after an analysis of neighbourhood relationships.

Tribal affiliations at workplace are only significant when they are useful. Occasionally, fellowtribesmen help each other find jobs. But in the primary group of interacting workers itself the instrumentality of tribal contacts and affiliations is considerably reduced. A man is assessed by employers according to his skill or productivity and, in small groups, the solidarity of enclaves of tribesmen is unlikely to alter this assessment. Moreover, employers, like government, are opposed to manifestations of tribal solidarity among their workers. This opposition is both ideological and expedient: ideological because the stressing of tribal differences in any context in the civic order is contrary to the exhortations of national government; and expedient because a group of co-active workers of the same tribe are regarded as constituting a bigger and more likely striking or bargaining power than a tribally disparate group of workers, who must transcend their mutual suspicion before acting corporately in defence of common interests. However, once they are mutually recognised, it is these interests which precede individual tribal membership as behavioural determinants in the tribally mixed primary group of work associates.

At the level of the workplace secondary group, that is, in the sphere of trade unionism and works committees, tribal affiliations and solidarities are again only significantly evident when there is clearly something to be gained by fellowtribesmen acting corporately, as when the Ganda were sufficiently numerous in the membership of the Uganda Clerical, Commercial, and Technical Employees Union to act concertedly and oust the Luo from most of the union's leadership roles. But the members of unions constitute small proportions of

the relevant total labour force, and corporate tribal action of this sort has little or no effect on the relationships between, say, the interacting group of ten workers on the factory floor, in the labouring gang, or in the office.

Different from the neighbourhood primary group, workplace primary groups are neither logically related witheach other nor with the total workplace secondary group or category. Two factors account for this difference.

Neighbourhood primary group relationships are characterised by greater observability and narrower scale than are those of workplace. The sheer fact of their localisation means that neighbourhood primary groups are easily compared and evaluated in relation to one another. The bounds of one neighbourhood primary group overlap with two, three, or even four others. Its relationships and the norms and sanctions affecting their content are observable in these other groups by persons who are not directly involved in the relationships. This common observability of neighbourhood primary group behaviour extends throughout the locality in the manner I described, so that a relatively high degree of normative congruence in the locality ensues. This is particularly the case in the housing estate where individual tribal membership is subordinated to other criteria of behavioural assessment.

The localisation, again, and the resultant high densities of population and social interaction narrow the operative scale of locality relationships, so that distinct and unobservable enclaves of relationsh: are unlikely to develop. There is thus some internal system of locality relationships which has its external aspects as when two

localities are regarded as in opposition, or when a segmentary tribesman is regarded by fellowtribesmen as a "defector" for moving to a higher status locality.

Workplace primary groups are not subject to such observability. A group of office workers see: little of another such group in another firm. They see little of a group of skilled and semi-skilled maintenance workers within their own firm, and, anyway, are factually and logically dissociated from them. Workplace, as distinct from locality, embraces all the disparate occupational categories and all private and public sectors of employment, which are dispersed throughou the city. Its scale is thus maximal and cannot be narrowed, except for the activities of trade unions whose direct influence is minimal.

It is, in fact, the occupational categories which provide the most obvious lines of affiliation connected with workplace. The broad categories are skilled and clerical jobs requiring the use of English, skilled jobs not requiring the use of English, and semi-skille and unskilled jobs. The categories are internally distinguished so that office boys are accorded more prestige than sweepers or labourers even though all fall into the occupational category of unskilled. Similarly, clerks, because they are literally white collared, are accorded more prestige than telephone operators, whose dress is not an important attribute of their work, though both occupations are regarded as skilled and requiring the use of English.

But it is a characteristic of these occupational categories and sub-categories that they are significant as determinants of role behaviour in relationships as much outside workplace as within.

b) The Occupational Role Summation

A person's occupation is the nearest thing he has in the civic order to a single summation of roles.[1] In the two primary orders his respective role summations are kinsman/tribesman and neighbour/resident. His occupational status, or quasi-role as Nadel would have it, entails his financial standing, the manner of his dress, the likelihood of his place of residence, his level of skill and/or education, and such more general characteristics as his public standing.

The attributes of this role summation are highly significant in activity which is independent of workplace and the civic order and is bounded in the two primary orders. This was evident in the descriptions contained in the preceding chapters, when I used the more general and convenient term "socio-economic status" to denote the effectiveness in particular situations of one or more of these attributes.

I shall continue to use "socio-economic" in this sense. The term "non-tribal" is analytically distinct and really indicates the absence of purely tribal criteria of role expectation. In the absence of tribal criteria, however, it is often socio-economic criteria which take their place and are thus also non-tribal. Nevertheless, the distinction seems worth keeping since there are occasions when role-expectations are consciously, albeit slightly, based on, say, common citizenship, nationhood, or some other basically non-tribal

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[1] The concept, occupational role summation, is taken from S.F. Nadel, 1957, The Theory of Social Structure, Cohen and West.

criterion which is not necessarily socio-economic as well. On the other hand, it is an essential of my thesis that non-tribal and socio-economic criteria mostly coincide.

The governing property of the occupational role summation is the specific level of skill or education required for a job. It is, of course, mostly significant in relationships confined to workplace, though the "halo effect" of a general level of education or skill is also significant outside workplace.

The pervasive and intrusive nature of occupational status is felt in the two primary orders to a much greater extent than kinship/tribal status and neighbour/resident status are each felt in the civic or, indeed, in each other's order. This relates to what I stated in the Introduction, that the civic order "receives but never gives". This reification of structure only begins to make sense in terms of the role analysis I have introduced. Thus, a person assesses his behaviour towards a neighbour primarily on the basis of his knowledge of that neighbour's possession of socio-economic status attributes, that is, the attributes of his occupational role summation. Similarly kin and fellowtribesmen consider their "traditional" roles towards each other in the light of these same attributes. It is relationships of the two primary orders which were "prior-existing", and it si role attributes of a different order which determine their ensuing modifications.

But, before embarking on further role analysis, I continue to describe the civic order.

c) Categories and Groups

The occupational structure firstly divides people into categories rather than groups. Similarly, the other aspects of the civic order distinguish categories of persons. Thus, persons may fall into legal categories, whether this determines the courts they go to, as when members of the African elite, together with Europeans and Asians, attend central government courts, and other Africans attend the local Buganda Kingdom gombolola courts, or whether, as in marriage, persons are distinguished according to whether they follow customary or civil law. Finally, people are distinguished according to their political party allegiances, provided they make known these allegiances, privately or on such public occasions as city council and national elections.

We can say that occupational categories are further divided into sociological groups. Carpenters, for example, or English-speaking clerks, form groups if they have a common workplace and basis of interaction. If they are engaged in interdependent tasks, workers of different occupational categories may form groups. But none of these groups is logically related to any other. I have stated, also, that the organised secondary groups of workplace, trade unions, are not logical embodiments of the primary groups, since they draw their personnel from occupational categories rather than from specific groups. Political party branches are groups in so far as their leaders and some of their active members interact regularly on a single basis. They are interrelated to constitute the political party. The ordinary member of the branch or the ordinary party

supporters are not members of these small sociological groups. Legal categories of persons cannot be divided into groups.

Localities, I have described, assume some degree of corporateness, develop internal and external systems of relationships, and may be referred to as secondary groups. Each locality is divisible into like entities, the neighbourhood units or primary groups. Tribes are divisible into subtribes and/or clans, and clusters of kin. For both residence and tribe, there is an internal logical interrelation of groups with each other and with their respective secondary groups. It is this logical division and interrelation of groups which most distinguishes the tribal and local orders from the civic order.

I continue to speak at the level of groups and categories in describing how the tribal and local orders have been affected by and yet have contributed to the civic order.

In the tribal order the framework of corporate clusters of affiliations in town is "traditional", that is, it is based on divisions of the tribe as they would be significant in the rural homeland. In some tribes, these corporate clusters of affiliations, or sub-groups, are organised in town into formal voluntary associations. But the aim-contents and membership policies of these associations are not traditionally based. The co-activity of each association is oriented to the solution of urban problems, whether of an individual or communal kind, and both manifest and latent.

The manifest problems are concerned with security for the individual and with the approbation and favourable public image of the tribe. The latent are concerned with the urban differentiation of fellowtribesmen into their respective socio-economic categories.

It is thus the latent function of formally organised urban tribal segmentation both to allocate roles to persons so differentiated and to accommodate them in a workable structure. The mere framework for this formally organised segmentation is that of the traditional society, while its content, including its allocation of and accommodation into roles, is created in responses to the demands of the civic order that persons be differentiated from each other by the nature of their occupational role summation.

The urban differentiation of some tribespeople thus has two facets which may coincide when expressed in formal organisation. One is the traditional differentiation of subtribe, clan and lineage, or group of kin, and the other is according to a differential distribution of the occupational role attributes.

However, for some tribes the traditional differentiation is not significant in organised urban differentiation.

The socio-economic differentiation of Lugbara into those who are long-term urban residents and those who are not is sufficiently wide that the tribal association and its branches are not formed within a traditional framework. The long-term urban Lugbara claim that their rights to land at home have been weakened. They distinguish themselves from short-term Lugbara migrants. They see no value in a traditional structure of urban tribal associations. The Teso see no value at all in a tribal association. They are of relatively high status and do not wish to subscribe in town to the types of corporate activity characteristic of their tribe at home. In these two cases, categorical affiliations of the civic order have superseded traditional tribal group affiliations as determinants of formal

associational organisation.

Among centralised tribespeople, the traditional rural differentiation of their societies does not emphasise division into corporate groups. Rather, the emphasis is on division into "classes", mostly based on land, wealth, and nobility, which are non-corporate. In these tribes, a supposedly earlier more or less total differentiation into corporate subtribes, clans and lineages has been largely superseded by the "class" differentiation.

This differentiation into "classes" or, more correctly, categories is similar in many respects to the differentiation of the civic order as I have described it. Putting it simply, I may say that persons of the centralised tribes discussed are already socio-economically differentiated when they first come to Kampala as potential urban workers and residents.

The concept of neighbourhood, whether in the small neighbourhood unit or applied to the locality at large, and the residential status divisions of localities also rest on the differentiation of residents, regardless of tribe, according to the same distribution of occupational role attributes, as apply in the differentiation of tribal associations

This differentiation does undergo partial formal organisation into voluntary associations. The members of each estate's local elite monopolise the locality's leadership roles, while all members of each estate, as well as the elite, are evaluated in relation to those of the other.

The local order absorbs more civic affiliations than the tribal. The local elites are theoretically part of a chain of communication

between tenants and the civic administration. At Naguru this is an effective chain of communication. Naguru leaders are spoken of being "closer" to positions of civic/political leadership. Many Naguru tenants who are not members of the estate's local elite nevertheless play important roles of leadership in the civic order, as trade union officials and city councillors. Finally, the basic difference between Naguru and Nakawa is a general one of skills, income, education, and type of house, in short, of occupational role summation. This general difference is thus derivative of the civic order.

In very general terms, then, the three orders are operationally related.

For those tribes which have urban voluntary associations, the local order acts as an intercalary structure between them and the civic order. I showed how leaders in such tribes may move successively from positions of leadership in the tribe, to the locality, and, in some cases, to the civic/political sphere. For them, this is the ideal and sometimes necessary leadership role-sequence.

For those tribes which have no urban voluntary associations, the formally organised differentiation of persons begins in the local order through locality associations. The leadership role-sequence is also likely to begin in this order and to progress to the civic. For persons of these tribes, the local order does not have this intercalary function.

The respective absence or presence of local order intercalary function for the leadership role-sequences of centralised and segmentary tribesmen is, I have stated, stage two of my paradigm.

d) The Symbolic Statement of Ideal Norms

But only a minority of Naguru and Nakawa residents are regular or even occasional members of either tribal, locality or civic/political associations. What is the significance, then, of such associations for those who do not overtly subscribe to them?

In fact, these associations merely express formally the norms of the group which they purport to represent.

The norms of tribal associations of all levels stress the co-operation of agnates, clansmen, and fellowtribesmen in the defence of common interests, whether these are rural or urban. In other words, they are the same common interests described in chapter II supplemented with such specifically urban interests as mutual aid among individuals and a favourable public tribal image. As I have indicated in that chapter, a man does not need to be a member of an association to observe these norms. Self-interest subsumed in a common interest usually ensures that he will.

Similarly, the locality associations emphasise in their organisati the non-tribal nature of their leadership, membership, and policy making. These organisational emphases are, again, formal expressions of the norms thought appropriate for the groups represented. Thus, the non-tribal emphasis equates with the norms of multi-tribal residence characteristic of neighbourhood primary groups and localities A person does not have to be a member of a locality association to observe neighbourhood norms. The sanctioning effects of the behaviour of neighbours with whom he interacts usually ensure that he will.

In other words, leaders of the tribal and locality associations are no more than representatives of ideal norms. Directly and inadvertently they express these norms. Their mouthpieces are the associations they lead.

It is thus the function of local and sectional elites to proclaim by their words and actions the norms of the local and social contexts in which they operate. These norms are necessarily ideal, but are not so estranged from actual behaviour as are the norms of the wider scale "established" elites concerned with administration and government.

The distinction implicit here is between the authoritarian leadership of national or local government and the non-authoritarian, largely representative leadership of groups within the relatively small-scale community of Kampala East. The obvious inference is that the smaller the group and scale in which leadership operates, the less need is there for it to be supported by coercive sanctions of power. National leaders need power to support their positions because, for much of the population, they do not observe ideal norms. In contrast, leaders of the various sectional and local groups in Kampala East rely upon maintaining the favour of their supporters by exhibiting a correct knowledge of the norms, a feat which is possible in small groups.[1]

When a leader of a clan association acts in this capacity, he is playing an idealised version of the role of clansman. The essential differences between his role and those of an ordinary dyad of clansmen are, firstly, that he is involved simultaneously in a number of

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[1] R.K. Merton, 1957, op.cit. pp. 336-40.

role-relationships (i.e. with fellow members of the clan association), whereas the dyad of clansmen involves a single role-relationship, and, secondly, that the norms obtaining in the latter are more likely to depart from the ideal.

Similarly, when two neighbours perform their respective roles within the single relationship, the norms they adhere to are likely to depart from the ideal as proclaimed in the relationship, say, of a tenants' association official with fellow tenants.

Thus, non-leaders are like leaders in so far as they play out roles within groups. The respective differences in norms attaching to the roles are in the extent of their idealized content and in whether they are played within single or multiple relationships.

We may say that a latent function of tribal and locality association leaders is to "educate" or socialize actual and potential followers into ideal norm behaviour.

Since leaders only exist as such by virtue of the associations they lead, the same latent function of socialization may be assigned to the associations themselves.

These latent functions are of a general kind. That is, all locality associations and leaders exhibit in their behaviour the same ideal norms, namely, that tribal affiliations should be subordinat or no more than secondary criteria of bhavioural assessment on a tribally heterogeneous housing estate. These norms encourage neighbourhood and locality cohesion. This cohesion and a further set or norms are mutually reinforced. These latter derive from what I call the conviction of behaviour appropriate to socio-economic

status among interacting neighbours. So, directly and indirectly, leaders emphasise the integrity of a locality.

Similarly, all tribal associations and leaders emphasise, directly and inadvertently, the virtues of solidarity among agnates, other kin, and fellowtribesmen.

There is also a related latent function of the whole structure of a single tribe's urban associations. This is the formal expression of socio-economically differentiated persons. This same function may be said to exist for the two sets of locality associations on Naguru and Nakawa, since the existence of two ranked local elites indicates a general difference of status.

These latent functions of leaders and associations contribute towards a wider system of social stratification.

They contribute also to stage three of my paradigm. Briefly, this is that the stratification of civic/political, locality and tribal associations reflects or symbolizes a like stratification of groups and categories, and that the leadership role-sequence symbolizes non-leadership role-sequences.

e) The Ranking of Groups and Categories

The groups and categories do, of course, overlap in their personnel. But the groups become corporate in regular and specific situational contexts. Thus, we may distinguish the relationship of clansmen from those of neighbours even though some of the latter may have interacted in another context as clansmen. Relationship cannot, of course, be ranked, but the statuses which people require for performing roles and establishing relationships may be ranked. Thus,

a man's general status may not disqualify him for inclusion in the urban activities of his clansmen but disqualifies him for inclusion in a neighbourhood primary group or beer-party at Upper Nakawa or Naguru. A person may then be ranked according to the extent of his participation in the variously ranked groups.

The categories are by definition non-corporate. I am particularly concerned with the occupational categories. It is in the context of relationship again that the ranking of occupational categories is evident. Thus, to give just one of many possible examples, a labourer is unlikely to establish an expressive relationship of friendship with a clerk, since their respective occupations mark them off as having different leisure interests and likely to wish to seek socio-economic peers. It is only in a patron-client, kinship, or neighbourhc relationship that they are likely to interact. In these, an instrument aspect, ranging from economic service, mutual aid, or a demand for neighbourhood harmony, establishes the tie.

The groups and categories are stratified, not into a single system, but into overlapping ones.

A locality is a residential area which is evaluated in relation to another. Upper and Lower Nakawa are each localities as are Nakawa and Naguru. The conc pt and span of locality are thus relative. Neighbourhood primay groups, as the constituents of localities, are concerned with the socio-economic ranking of their members. Disputes over conflicting expectations of prestige allocation derive from this ranked system of persons within neighbourhood groups and of localities themselves. But multi-tribal residence per se is a secondary, even insignificant, cause of disputes between neighbours. The local elite

specific to each estate is multi-tribal in its composition.

Most segmentary lineage tribespeople in Kampala use their traditional social framework of tribe, and sometimes subtribe and clan, for establishing formal voluntary associations. These associations are arranged in a hierarchy specific to the tribe concerned The hierarchy is mainly based on the socio-economic distribution of association leaders and members. At the same time segmentary tribesmen are members of any of these tribal subdivisions, so that mobility within the association, both upwards and downwards, is facilitated. Centralised tribesmen in Kampala do not use their traditional social framework of "class" differentiation for establishin formal voluntary associations. Indeed, they form no such associatinns The fact that centralised tribesmen often invest what they have earnt in the town in the purchase of land and a home of their own in their tribal area, but often away from their immediate agnatic lineage or family, suggests that they subscribe informally to their tribal forms of social stratification which are largely based on the ownership and tenantship of land. There is thus no need for them to set up urban organisations which allocate roles to socio-economicall differentiated persons. They are already accommodated within a tribal system of stratification which can operate in conjunction with and as an extension of an urban system of stratification.

Segmentary lineage tribesmen are not so accommodated, and I suggest it is a latent function of their stratified system of formal urban voluntary associations to facilitate this accommodation of socio-economically differentiated persons by allocating them appropriate roles.

In the civic order, the only system of stratification which need concern us is that associated with the division of occupational categories and sub-categories. It is this system of stratified categories, rather than groups and sub-groups, which is at the basis of the systems of stratification in the urban local and tribal orders.

f) The Intercalary Function of Local Order Relationships

There is an apparent contradiction in latent functions of associations.

On the one hand, associations stress the integrity of the groups they represent. On the other hand, they stress the socio-economic differentiation of both persons and groups.

For locality associations there is in fact no such contradiction since a person may move from one group to another and may totally transfer his allegiance to his new group. For instance, a man may move into the local elite of Nakawa having moved his residence from Lower to Upper Nakawa. Even if he does not enter the local elite, he is in a position effectively to loosen or sever his ties in Lower Nakawa and is free to establish new ones in Upper Nakawa. Since associations reflect the statuses and movements of persons in groups, the principle is the same whether or not entry into the local elite is made. Similarly, a person is relatively free to loosen former residential ties when he moves from Nakawa to Naguru. That centralised tribesmen are "more free" than segmentary to make this movement should not obscure the absolute fact that the theoretically total replacement of residential ties by those with higher status neighbours is possible.

For tribal associations there does appear to be something of a logical contradiction. A man may be the chairman of a full tribal association and may fulfil the necessary socio-economic qualifications for the position. But he is also a clansman and agnate, whether or not he is a member of a clan or lineage association. Thus, the system of stratification presented by a single urban tribespeople's structure of associations is no more than an index of the wider system. Since the tribal system operates only in the context of leadership role-performance, it hardly suffices for either leaders or non-leaders and non-members in the contexts of everyday living, that is, within the wider system of stratification itself. The logical contradiction is resolved by such persons playing all other roles within the wider system.

Whereas the groups represented by tribal associations are arranged in a segmentary hierarchy[1], the groups represented by locality associations are arranged in a non-segmentary hierarchy, which is only centralised to the extent that public housing estates are administered by civic authorities. The high-ranking localities arrogate not political power but socio-economicprestige and influence, rather in the manner of reference groups.

It seems, therefore, that the structure of a segmentary tribe's associations acts as a charter. The charter states that it is permissible for fellowtribesmen to be differentiated socio-economically according to a wider urban system of social stratification, even though this conflicts with the tribe's rural egalitarian values, but that individual roles played by virtue of status occupancy within

[1] The analogy here is with the segmentary state characteristic of, among others, the Alur. A.W. Southall, 1954, op.cit.

the system should include adherence to the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman.

If carried to its logical extension, this expectation would impose insurmountable obligations on townsmen of segmentary tribes. According to the egalitarian values, the wealthy man would have to share his wealth and place of residence among an indeterminate number of agnates and clansmen. The young aspirant, saving for bridewealth of spending money and time on correspondence courses for higher education or other employment qualifications, would be wholly restricted in his aspirations if he himself had constantly to pay school fees for younger siblings or accommodate agnates or clansmen in town. To some extent, as I have illustrated, these obligations may restrict or inhibit a man's chances of realising urban aspirations. But relationships conducted in a multi-tribal place of residence, whether they are concerned with recreation or leisure, or are more instrumental neighbourhood relationships, do provide a common yardstick for evaluating aspirational levels which are seen as cutting across tribal categories.

It is then possible to mitigate the severity of kinship and tribal obligations by taking appropriate action within the local order to assist the attainment of relative individual independence. I have already described this appropriate action as: (1) the movement out of a host's household by a formerly dependent kinsman, preceded by self-evaluation and accompanied by a quarrel; and (2) the movement to a higher status locality, accompanied by a suitable explanation to kin and clansmen or, in the absence of such explanation, followed

by accusations indicating unnacceptable deviance.

I have suggested that the disruptive effects of these conflicts may vary according to whether or not the aspirant manipulates the relationships carefully beforehand or afterwards reconciles them. But, whatever their disruptive effects, these conflicts indicate and facilitate a movement into status groups consisting of a greater proportion of socio-economic peers and superiors.

The local order, consisting of and symbolized by the hierarchy of locality associations and elites, thus provides a status aspirant of a segmentary tribe with the opportunity to lessen the burden of heavy obligations entailed in the ideal urban role summation of kinsman/tribesman.

The local and civic orders accommodate essentially non-tribal activities. The role summation of neighbour/resident embodies the conflicts of tribal role-expectation. These conflicts enable a segmentary tribesman to indicate the extension of his general urban status-sequence from being based on prescribed egalitarian criteria of behaviour to those of achievement in a hierarchy, namely that represented by the occupational structure. Since this latter is a prime aspect of the civic order, we may again reify and say that the local order acts in an intercalary capacity by linking the two diametrically opposed tribal and civic orders.

Dropping the reification, we may consider the three role summations themselves. The role attributes of the occupational summation stress criteria of behavioural assessment which are either socio-economic, or non-tribal, or both. The role attributes of the kinsman/tribesman summation prima facie stress tribal criteria,

though these are narrowly and specifically defined for segmentary tribesmen. The role attributes of the neighbour/resident summation stress criteria of behavioural assessment which are both socio-economic and non-tribal, and which are based on recognition of the social facts of status differentiation and multi-tribal residence on a housing estate. The criteria are thus linked with those of the occupational role summation and derive from the civic order. In only one attribute of the role summation of neighbour/resident is there a fusion of tribal, non-tribal and socio-economic criteria and this is the source of the conflicts in role-expectations discussed above.

Just as the local order provides a structure of leadership roles for segmentary tribesmen which is intercalary to those of the tribal and civic orders, so it provides criteria of role assessment which are taken from the civic order and which are impressed upon the urban tribesman in his neighbourhood and locality relationships. These criteria precipitate his aspirations for an independently achieved and individualistic status in a hierarchy based essentially on the ranking of occupational categories. At the same time, they serve to delimit the number who may realise such aspirations and thus strengthen the solidary nature of the ethnocentric groups constituting the tribal order, and composed of persons generally of the lower socio-economic categories.

In the last but one paragraph I said that, prima facie, the role attributes of the kinsman/tribesman summation stress tribal criteria of behavioural assessment. This may seem an obvious enough statement and indicates quite clearly what we mean when we refer to segmentary lineage tribesmen. But what of centralised tribesmen?

The very fact that these role attributes are broadly defined seems to place the summation in almost a qualitatively different category from that of a segmentary tribesman. However, I think the difference is quantitative, that is, of degree rather than kind, though individual cases do seem to occupy extreme ends of an extensive spectrum. I need hardly consider in detail again the immediate implications of this broad definition of role attributes.

Briefly, they are that townsmen of centralised tribes have no tribal associations nor regularly defined corporate agnatic groups, and that their bilateral kin networks rarely assume group corporateness For them the local order does not provide an intercalary structure of leadership and non- leadership roles. It does not, in other words, and here I must oversimplify, divide persons who persist as members of regularly defined corporate groups from those who show an inclination to assume role behaviour which emphasises achieved status.

Certainly, townsmen of centralised tribes are concerned to assume role behaviour which exhibits their achieved status. But the processes enabling such achievement are also available within the rural tribal order and are not discouraged within the urban tribal order. Indeed, for them much more than for segmentary tribesmen, the process of social mobility and the system of social stratification appear to be linked at different points in both rural and urban orders. I indicated, for instance, the tendency of townsmen of centralised tribes to buy land and build houses, or even seek chiefship in their home areas, and yet still persist in urban

employment. This tendency is helped along by the existence of clearly delineated hierarchies of power and prestige set in tribal kingdoms. Ganda are especially able to co-ordinate their processes of urban and tribal social mobility. The Kibuga adjoins Kampala City and enables a man to set up a suburban home, through purchase or hire, which is culturally and administratively very much a part of Buganda but from which he may easily commute to the city.

Segmentary tribesmen are less able to effect such co-ordination. Even de facto sale and freehold tenure of land in their home areas are difficult to achieve. A man is still a member of a localised lineage and clan or clan section, and of a corporate or ideological such unit, and, according to the expectations of his ideal kinsman/tribesman role summation, is obliged to consider first the demands of members of these groups before his own aspirations.

These are obviously generalisations. Some segmentary tribesmen, and presumably an increasing number, invest money they have accumulated during urban employment in rural economic enterprises, including those of trade, transport, or a retail shop. I would speculate from unsystematically acquired rural impressions that these rural ventures are often launchdd with a view to activating the wider corporate and quasi-corporate groups of agnates and clansmen as clientele. Certainly, many economic enterprises in Kampala East run by Luo, Luhya, Samia and Acholi, in particular, have been estahlished with a clan or subtribe as their initial clientele. In contrast, even the smallest businesses established by Ganda and Toro seem to have relied upon an initial clientele which was multi-tribal. Some of the most successful Luo, Luhya and Samia enterprises have arisen to satisfy

a need within the respective tribe or sub-group. Taxi services to the homeland or food-supply services from the homeland are the best examples. Some of the most successful Ganda and Toro businesses have also arisen to satisfy such ethnocentric needs as plantain-supply, but many others range in type from dress and material stores to electrical fitting and repair services. They constitute the biggest challenge to the strong positions held in the more general economic sphere by Asians and Europeans.

These more general facts illustrate the relatively successful co-ordination of urban and rural systems of social stratification and mobility by centralised tribespeople and the lesser co-ordination among segmentary tribespeople whose rural egalitarian structures still present practical and ideological problems of integration with urban hierarchical structures. For the latter, the sheer facts of residence on a publically administered housing estate provide normative and symbolic contexts which link otherwise contradictory tribal and civic roles.[1]

For the former, there is no such contradiction of roles and these residential contexts merely help forward a process of personal inclusion in socio-economic categories which are additional to those already existing in the rural tribal order.

These facts contribute to stage four of my paradigm. This is that the intercalary function of the local order for leadership role-sequences among segmentary tribesmen reflects its intercalary function

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[1] As I hope is now clear, a civic role, at its most complete and ideal, is one performed without regard for kinship and tribal obligations. Rather, it is performed in response to the demands of the civic order as I have defined them. The most important of these demands is the socio-economic ranking of persons.

for their non-leadership role-sequences. Among centralised tribesmen the local order does not have this intercalary function for their non-leadership role-sequences. I consider a role-sequence in its context of social mobility, and illustrate in empirical detail this stage of the paradigm in the following chapter.

g) Summary

I now state my ideal paradigm in its total form:

Stage I Among the migrants in Kampala of a single segmentary tribe, there is likely to develop a structure of formal voluntary associations which is internally stratified, or, which, through intentional or entailed policies of exclusion, highlights the socio-economic differentiation of fellowtribesmen. Fellowtribesmen who are socio-economically differentiated may belong to similarly differentiated clan, subtribe, and full tribal associations.

Among the townsmen of a single centralised tribe, there is unlikely to develop any structure of formal voluntary associations.

Stage 2 Formal voluntary associations which are not specific to a single tribe are likely to develop in an area like Kampala East, which accommodates a hard core of socially mobile persons, more committed than most to urban employment and living. These associations are local and city-wide, and are ranked above those of each tribe.

A leadership role-sequence of a segmentary tribesman traverses successively tribal, locality, and civic/political associations. A centralised tribesman's leadership role-sequence begins in locality associations.

Stage 3 Leaders and associations may be regarded as indices of the solidarity of the groups or categories they represent. The stratification of associations, too, is reflected in a like stratification of the respective groups. Similarly, a leadership role-sequence reflects the path taken by a non-leadership role- or status-sequence, which is up and through the ranked groups and categories.

Stage 4 Thus, for the ordinary migrant of a segmentary tribe locality relationships are as intercalary in such a status-sequence as they are in that of a leader. For centralised tribesmen they are not.

This is, I repeat, an ideal paradigm. Throughout this thesis I have concerned myself with the two major groupings of centralised and segmentary tribesmen. In doing so, I have inadvertently exaggerated their respective internal similarities and external differences. The alternative would have been to ignore this major distinction and just describe persons as members of individual tribes at varying degrees of social distance from each other. But, in the sheer observation of events during my fieldwork and in what people would say, it is difficult to ignore this distinction.

Certainly, there are internal differences. The rural social structures differ in detail: the lineages of the Lugbara are relatively shallow; the Alur, in particular, and the Acholi, to a lesser degree, show aspects of political centralisation; the Luo and Luhya appear to have similar segmentary structures, though, in fact, the Luhya have come to regard themselves as a relatively integrated grouping only recently.

The Ganda are the only centralised people with anything approaching de jure freehold land tenure and sale; much has happened in the kinship relations of the Ganda and Toro that has not happened among the Soga and Nyoro, who must be regarded as "more patrilineal" than the Ganda and Toro; the Ganda are, of course, the host tribe, and this is as much an internal difference as is the fact for the group of segmentary tribes that the Luo, Luhya, and some Samia are from Kenya.

On the other hand, the internal similarities are important. The Luo, Acholi, Alur, and Lango are either or both linguistically and culturally related. The Luo, Luhya, and Samia show common cultural characteristics as well as being, with the exception of some Samia, nationals of the same country. The Lugbara are somewhat isolated, though they do appear to recognise some implications of common residence in the district of West Nile with Jonam and Alur, whom one association leader accused of "copying our association here in Kampala". Enduring relations between Lugbara and Acholi at their rural boundary peripheries are not uncommon. The Kiga share linguistic affinities with the centralised Bantu, and this fact certainly facilitates a relatively high proportion of relationships between them. But, in their attitudes to marriage, in their patterns of kinship obligations, and, in the existence of their urban tribal association, they share much in common with the other segmentary tribes. The crucial internal similarities of this grouping of tribes are, of course, those relating to the localisation and/or ideological context of corporate agnatic and clan groups, including attitudes to marriage and the status of women, and egalitarian values.

The internal similarities of the centralised Bantu firstly relate to the common facts of a hierarchy of kings and chiefs, de jure and de facto land tenure and sale, a relatively bilateral kinship emphasis, a dispersion of clansmen, and a distinct attitude towards marriage and the status of women. In other respects they are territorially adjacent, and linguistically and culturally close. In general, they show more internal similarity than the segmentary tribes.

Because kinship and tribal relations have a persistent quality, which is both ideological and practical, and because they are at the root of the distinction between segmentary and centralised tribesmen, as well as being particularly observable in everyday life, I choose this particular two-fold classification rather than attempt to embrace a study of individually differentiated tribes.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM GROUPS TO NETWORKS

a) The Aims of this Chapter

In this chapter, I demonstrate the final stage of my ideal paradigm.

This is that the facts of residence on the housing estates of Kampala East provide the ordinary segmentary tribesman, who is not necessarily a leader, with the opportunity of bridging otherwide contradictory kinship/tribal and civic roles.

In general terms this implies that a man living in Naguru is able to resolve the contradiction of roles more efficiently than a man in Upper Nakawa. The latter is better able to resolve the contradiction of roles than the man in Lower Nakawa who is socio-economically qualified to aspire to higher status.

This is why persons who are socially mobile and who desire greater individual choice of role behaviour move to higher status localities. I have suggested the manners in which such movements are made.

I have not yet described the differential role-sets characterising persons resident in these localities. I shall do this by analysing a selected sample of four cases.

There is a basic point to this analysis. This is that Kampala East enjoys a special position as a residential ward which is above the socio-economic average of Africans in Greater Kampala, and which accommodates migrants whose stake in a conventional system of social stratification is higher than most migrants elsewhere in the town.

Most locality and neighbourhood relationships may alternatively be regarded as leisure or recreational relationships. I have already described their general normative content and the way they are adapted to the facts of multi-tribal residence and status differentiatic This description illustrated the relatively independent expectations attaching to non-tribal and tribal locality relationships.

Relationships are, of course, amenable to such differences in nomenclature. Thus, a neighbourhood relationship adheres to neighbourhood norms, yet is internally differentiated according to whether or not it obtains between fellowtribesmen, or between socio-economic peers, and whether it is more or less instrumental or expressive. Conversely, a tribal relationship, that is, one between fellowtribesmen, is modified in the context of neighbourhood in a way in which it is not in the context, say, of a tribal association, or in an affectively neutral social zone, if such exists.

My descriptions so far of such relationships have, of course, been static and have concentrated on their universality in the social and ecological contexts of public housing estates. Especially, I have tried to show how membership of specific groups affects the performance of roles within these relationships.

I am now concerned with the dynamic aspects of role analysis. That is, I wish to illustrate a status-sequence diachronically by picking out the role-set specific to each sequential status. The status-sequence is, of course, that pertaining to successive movements from the suburbs to Lower and Upper Nakawa, to Naguru, and, potentially, to Ntinda or the city centre, whether or not these movements are undergone by the same person.

Leisure relationships theoretically embrace more than just those of neighbourhood and locality, and include those deriving from common workplace, tribe, school, and more casual connections. Neighbourhood and locality may provide the contexts for either very few or very many leisure relationships. The level of technological development in the society and the individual economic statuses of persons in that society appear to be the crucial factors determining which. Relatively high technological development usually indicates facilities of transport and communications. Those able to afford the use of such services are more easily able to establish and maintain relationships with persons who are physically dispersed. But where, as in most developing countries, the cost of such services constitutes a relatively large proportion of most persons' incomes, one may assume that a larger proportion of leisure relationships and activities are necessarily confined to the locality or number of adjacent localities. Though this is an unproven assumption, it may explain the quasi-corporateness of the localities in Kampala East. Other explanations of a highly subjective nature might have to resort to such causes as a derived rural tribal ethos for localised corporate action, which is hardly easy to sustain.

The facts remain that the localities of Kampala East do assume quasi-corporateness. To a greater extent than in, perhaps, London suburbia[1], residents see themselves as members of one or more groups,

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[1] But see A. Rudolph, January, 1965, A Community is Born, New Society, No.122, in which a small London suburban estate is so arranged physically that it acquires group properties, including the establishment of a residents' association.

which are ranked. They may be full or marginal members of a local elite, or may distinguish themselves as "one of the people" of Lower or Upper Nakawa, or Naguru, or may merely lend support to a vigorous campaign by the tenants' association for improved living conditions. Also, they distinguish other persons as belonging or not belonging to such groups and quasi-groups. Locality leaders become well-known. Celebrities emerge. Mythical parables are told: of Onyango, the askari who drank too much, beat his wife, lost his job, and eventually "had to go back to Kisenyi"; or of the day people from the Lower Nakawa bedspaces marched up to the estate manager and stated their intention to withhold payment of rent until their living conditions were raised to those of Upper Nakawa.

The people of Kampala East live at a high spatial density and constitute a social and physical aggregate quite distinct from the residents either of the city centre or suburbs. Their networks of relations occasionally seem almost bounded and more typical of a small-scale than complex society.

With Kampala East viewed in this perspective, I now consider the interrelations of three types of relationship. Again, they overlap at times. But they may frequently be distinguished. They are leisure, kinship, and conjugal relationships. These latter, of course, very much affect each other for a segmentary tribesman.

The relationships draw their content from properties and attribute of the three role-summations I discussed: those of kinsman/tribesma neighbour/resident, and member of a specific occupational category.

The justification for singling out leisure relationships for so much attention is the simple fact that they are so important in the lives of most persons, and serve as indicators of social status and mobility.

Studies of social mobility may be focused on one or more spheres of relationships. These may be the occupational hierarchy, the power structure, or the economic system. Clearly, these are all related, though the focus of analysis may be such as to abstract one of them. Fewer studies focus attention on the sphere of leisure relationships. Yet, for most people, they occupy more energy and time than relationships concerned with the allocation of power and wealth. I do not deny the crucial significance of the latter. Indeed, I regard the ranking of occupational categories as the prime determinant of group and personnel differentiation, either directly or through expression of occupational role attributes.

But I consider there is a good case for analysing leisure relationships, more or less in their own right, in conjuction with conjugal and kinship relationships, in order to illustrate the way in which the facts of residence in Kampala East affect them and are of especial significance for segmentary tribesmen.

So far in this thesis I have concentrated on the part played by groups in the general structure of urban relations. I illustrated that kin and tribal groups may be distinguished from local groups and that the former are more significant as determinants of behaviour among segmentary than centralised tribesmen. This detailed analysis of groups was necessary, firstly, in order to prove that segmentary and centralised tribesmen are subject to different role-expectations

in town, and secondly, to indicate the structural arrangement of these groups into at least a local system of stratification, which is symbolised by a hierarchy of associations purporting to represent these groups.

But, of course, a person's relationships do not fall neatly into divisible group contexts. He is at the centre of a number of separate networks of relations, the constituent members of which are drawn from any number of these groups. A person is a member of groups which are relatively enduring and bounded, but his particular networks are unbounded, whether they are close-knit or loose-knit.

The question to be asked now is: if, in order to become socially mobile, a person must pass up and through the ranked but overlapping groups I have described, in what ways are his various situational networks likely to be altered; do they become more or less loose-knit; and how are their structures determined by his changing obligations to kinsmen, fellowtribesmen, neighbours, and his wife and her kin?

Though my interests are related to those of Bott, I do not use the concepts of network and conjugal role-relationship to the same extent nor for precisely the same purposes. Bott's concern was "to make a comparative study of the relationship between conjugal role segregation and network-connectedness for each of the twenty families (analysed in the study) as a social system"[1]. My concern is to understand the different interconnections of kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships among both segmentary and centralised tribesmen in Kampala East. I use the concept of network because it helps me describe and analyse, but I am not in a position to theorise

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[1] E. Bott, 1957, op.cit., p.61.

about networks in general.

It is probably an unorthodox method to present four very detailed cases in the penultimate chapter of a thesis. The justification for this is simply that, when an analysis moves from the consideration of roles played within groups to those played within networks, a new frame of reference is employed. Peoples' relationships are looked at from a different viewpoint and have therefore to be described in full.

For the four cases, I have selected persons who are in some way "typical" of the major social categories at Naguru and Nakawa. Thus, they are married, are of at least nine years urban residence, and, at the distinctive stages in their role-sequences, altogether fall into the occupational categories into which the estates' populations are divided.

b) Case 1: Segmentary Tribesman Exhibiting Highly Integrated Kinship, Conjugal, and Leisure Relationships

Awuor is a Luo who lives in Lower Nakawa. He is thirty-three, has been married eight years and has three children. He has been working in an unskilled capacity in Kampala for twelve years. He is at present a government office cleaner. He speaks no English but has a fluent and extensive command of Swahili. The following are some items from his urban biography.

"When I first came to this place in 1952, I lodged with my brother (in fact, patrilateral parallel cousin) in Kibuli. That man, like me, had no education and was working as a porter. There was another brother from our village (in fact, a clansman of the same

home area) who was living at Nakawa in an upper group. He was a highly educated clerk. I think my start here in Kampala would have been much better if I had lodged with him first, but, of course, I had to stay with that other brother, who was the real son of one of my fathers (uncle). Also, this educated brother had some brothers of his own whom he had to help first.

This brother with whom I stayed in Kibuli found me a job with him as a porter. In those days I wanted to get education, but he could not help. He did not earn much, but if he had not spent so much money on drinking and prostitutes he might have helped me a little After two years I met another brother from home (fellow villager but relationship uncertain). This man was lodging with a Luo friend in the lower groups of Nakawa. I had to quarrel with my brother in Kibuli before I could leave him. He accused me and said he would report my leaving him to our parents. But I saw thatliving with this brother in Nakawa was a chance to get a better job, because he was working a machine at Port Bell (beer bottling company) and probably he could help me.

I stayed with this brother in a Nakawa bedspace for about a year but he could not get me a job. Then he decided to marry and went back home to find a wife and arrange the marriage. He also moved to a house in Upper Nakawa. By that time my brother in Kibuli was friendly to me again, but had lost his job. As I was now the "owner" of that Nakawa bedspace, he came to stay with me. During the time he was unemployed, I lost a lot of money keeping him. The trouble was that I was planning to marry, because people had said it was time I did, and the money I was losing on him was delaying my plans. I reasoned with him about this but he accused me of being "proud" and so we quarrelled again. Soon he moved to lodge with a brother who lived in Lower Nakawa but who was not a real brother like myself (that is, was not close in terms of agnatic descent).

For some months I was not disturbed by brothers and was able to return home to arrange my marriage. The parents were not pleased because they had heard how I had mistreated my brother. But I promised them I would not let the quarrel continue when I returned to Nakawa.

Shortly after marrying I was able to get a job as a sweeper of offices. The wages were a little better but not much more. I stayed in this job until now. I also rented a Shs.17/- house in a lower group in Nakawa. I did not earn enough to rent a house in Upper Nakawa. Also, I now had a wife and children.

During this time we set up a clan association. That brother with whom I had first stayed in Kibuli was now a head labourer, and it was he who was chairman of our association. We were both living in Lower Nakawa and were very friendly towards each other."

There are two main features of this account. One is the implicit statement of the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman. Stated briefly, this is that obligations to agnates and even to wider kin should be carried out regardless of personal ambitions, and that the obligations to close agnates should be greater than those to more distant agnates or non-agnates. Inevitable conflicts of role-expectation occur. Sometimes the incumbent is placed in a situation in which it is virtually impossible to reconcile the conflicting expectations of behaviour. A prime example of this occurs when Awuor "reasons" with his cousin over the impossibility of his saving money towards bridewealth for his marriage while he acts as host and provider. Awuor accepts his "blame" when his kinsfolk show displeasure over his attitude, though there is no doubt that had he delayed his marriage plans too long he would have been condemned by "parents", clansmen and fellowtribesmen, as was the Luhya described in chapter II.

The other related main feature of the account is the way in which Awuor's personal aspirations become diluted in time and coalesce somewhat with those of his clansmen who are his socio-economic peers. His earlier days in Kampala were charged with personal ambition which conflicted with the egalitarian values and obligations entailed in

the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman. His later days witness a compromise with the world. He relinquishes the aspirations he once had of "a better job" and resigns himself to permanent residence in Lower rather than Upper Nakawa. Furthermore, he does indeed reconcile his disputes with his original urban host and subscribes fully to the clan association which is established.

Awuor explains that the scope of his recreation is limited in a number of ways.

"When I come home from duty I always drink uji (porridge) which my wife has for me. You know that we porters here in Lower Nakawa cannot enjoy ourselves as we please. You see those brothers of ours in Upper Nakawa and Naguru going to the cinema, or to some dances at big clubs like Toplife or White Nile. But we are to enjoy ourselves here, or at Kwaziba, or in the kyaro around (referring to the suburbs in general)".

Most of Awuor's evenings are indeed spent in one of a small number of ways in the areas he mentions. The following is a condensed diary, written by myself, of his recreational activities and company over what seemed to be a reasonably eventful week.

Monday: Awuor had told two Luhya, a Luo and an Acholi friend, who live in Lower Nakawa, that he would be ready to play ajua (the board game common throughout Africa, apparently. Ajua means "he knows" in Swahili. The Luganda word for the game is

The occupations of the men/were of the unskilled and semi-skilled categories. Only one had a reasonable spoken knowledge of English.

Awuor was drinking uji when a clansman from Kibuli suburb came to the house. The clansman said that the wife of one of their "brothers" had run away with another Luo. It was thought the couple had gone to Jinja. Another clansman, in fact a cousin of the husband, had gone to Jinja to "make the couple understand". Awuor was not

explicitly asked to do or contribute anything. The visitor had merely passed on this information, probably as an act of duty and because it afforded him the chance of an evening as Awuor's guest. Awuor insisted that the visitor stay for an evening meal of kuon (the Luo equivalent of ugali in Swahili, meaning a type of bread), cabbage, and fish. He informed his friends that they would have to play without him for this evening.

Tuesday: They spent the whole of the evening playing ajua until it got dark at 7.15 p.m. They devised a competition in which Awuor and a Luhya, the other Luhya and the Acholi, and the Luo and another Luo who joined the game for the evening, each constituted teams. At one stage, about twenty male householders and innumerable children gathered round to watch the game. When it was too dark to continue playing they talked and laughed about a Ganda wife who had beaten her "temporary" Soga husband over the weekend, after she had claimed he was spending every evening with prostitutes. This developed into a more serious discussion over the horrors of marriage among "these Uganda Bantu". They started laughing again when jokes were made as to the "weakness" of men of such tribes. At about 9.30 p.m. Awuor went to have his evening meal. The others also broke up though some of them had already had their meals.

Wednesday: Awuor had arranged with an Acholi workmate to see him at Lower Kiswa and spend the evening drinking there.

Awuor spent an enjoyable evening at just one stall in Lower Kiswa. It is said that at these stalls a man can get drunk for less than a shilling. He met some other Luo friends from Lower Nakawa. One or two were with their wives. In their cases, elder children were available to look after the younger. Awuor, the Acholi and some Luhya men agreed that they did not relish bringing their wives to these beer stalls. They noted that the Uganda Bantu husbands seemed "to have to" bring their wives with them. They had no choice, since "their wives would leave them if they come here without them".

Awuor left at about 9 p.m. His Acholi friend, who was unmarried, decided to stay. On parting, they joked that Awuor did not have the Acholi's freedom, since he was obliged to return home to his wife.

Awuor said that the recompense for his comparative loss of freedom was that he had children "who would remember him and keep his name when he was old and even when he was dead".

Of about twenty men who sat at Awuor's table and with whom he occasionally or more frequently interacted, only six were skilled artisans. None required English in their jobs, though about five men could speak a little. The general language of communication was Swahili, though separate cliques might use Luganda or members' respective Nilotic dialects. There were some Rwanda, Toro and Ganda at the table, as well as Luo, Luhya, Acholi, and Lugbara. Some Ganda women were sitting with non-Ganda men. There appeared to be no feelings of tribal hostility, and cross-cultural, inter-tribal conversation cliques emerged almost as frequently as the more common Nilotic, Lugbara/Madi, and Bantu cliques (includin g Luhya).

Thursday: Awuor spent the evening until 7.15 p.m. playing ajua with the same Lower Nakawa set of friends. He had his evening meal earlier than usual, at 8 p.m., and declined an invitation to join a malwa party at the other side of Lower Nakawa. He spent the rest of the evening indoors with his wife and children. The latter were normally expected to be asleep by 9 p.m. but tonight they stayed up later.

Friday: Awuor was asked by his wife when he returned from work whether she might visit a female relative of hers at Naguru. Awuor gave her permission to do so, and stayed with the children. He went out of his way to explain to me that "few Luo men are prepared to act as ayah (nurse) for their own children when they have a wife, but, in the town, you must make exceptions. Also, in the town, a man must show that he loves his wife".

A Luhya friend spent an hour or so with Awuor in his home until the wife returned from Naguru at about 6.45 p.m. The three joked about Awuor's wife having "run off to Naguru, because there are some big men and expensive cars and houses there". Awuor and the Luhya walked down to the Lower Nakawa beer bar and split a bottle of lager. Part of the ensuing conversation concerned the number of people each

knew at Naguru. The Luhya appeared to derive more prestige through claiming to know more people there than Awuor, though a fair proportion of these were unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Awuor compensated by claiming that he was quite well-known by some of his subtribe living at Upper Nakawa. He then took the Luhya to the house in Upper Nakawa occupied by the "brother" with whom he had once lodged in a Lower Nakawa bedspace (see above). This "brother" greeted Awuor warmly and accused him of not having bothered to visit him recently. Awuor replied that it was "for an Upper Nakawa brother to visit a Lower Nakawa brother, but not the other way round".

This "brother" was now a storekeeper and earning nearly twice Awuor's income. He seemed to accept Awuor's point and promised he would visit him in Lower Nakawa in the near future. The evening passed amiably enough.

Two months later, the "brother" had still not visited Awuor who, after being prompted by me, expressed little surprise at this and seemed to concede that the "brother's" interests were "different", or at least put him in the company of different people at different places of entertainment from his own.

Saturday: Awuor and his wife lunched early at about 11.30 a.m. The elder duaghter of a clansman of Awuor, who lived in Lower Nakawa, had agreed to look after their children in order to allow Awuor and his wife to visit a number of his kinsmen, mostly agnates, including some clansmen, but also a couple, the husband of whom was related to Awuor through his mother's brother. Each of these kin also regularly visited Awuor and his wife at Nakawa.

Because it was dark by the time they were ready to return to Nakawa, they had to catch a taxi from Kibuli, the fare for which was 3/- (Awuor earns 140/- a month). They had also taken the usual gifts of tea and maize flour, so that, though enjoyable, the day proved rather expensive.

Most of the discussion at each kinsman's household had concerned the affair in which a "brother's" wife had eloped to Jinja (see the Monday visitor). Though neither of the couple was related to, nor of the same clan as the man and wife related to Awuor through his

mother's brother, these latter took a keen interest in what Awuor and some of his kin had to say about the affair and sympathised and made suggestions. Largely out of affection and duty for Awuor and his wife, this matrilateral relative and his wife continued to follow with interest developments in the case.

The eloping couple had, in fact, been traced to their whereabouts in Jinja, but, though the Luo paramour had admitted his guilt and was prepared to relinquish claim to the woman, the wife herself had vehemently refused to return to her husband. The help of the local gombolola police had then been requested at Jinja and the woman was to be sent to her husband's rural home. The latter was preparing to leave for home himself. First, he had to arrange leave of absence from work.

Sunday: Awuor's wife again requested and was granted permission to visit a relative, this time in Upper Nakawa. She also visited one at Kiswa.

Awuor went with some friends from Lower Nakawa to watch an afternoon game of football at Lugogo stadium. Two Luo subtribes were playing. Awuor's was not one of them, but he was going along to watch the match, he claimed, not so much because he cared which subtribe won, but because, jokingly, he wanted to act as "judge" in any ensuing disputes between those of his friends who were of either subtribe.

There are three main features of Awuor's leisure activities. These are: his prime association in the company of socio-economic peers; the local confinement of his recreation to places of more or less the same residential standing as Lower Nakawa, for example, Kwaziba, Lower Kiswa, and even Kibuli; and his tendency to drink malwa (traditional beer) much more than "European" bottle beer.

These features may not seem surprising in themselves. But, taken together in their usual interrelated manner, they serve to divide persons and status-groups from each other. Another such

feature is, of course, manner of dress, which, as a diacritical rather than syncretic characteristic of status differentiation, may occur in isolation.

Taken together, Awuor's leisure relationships include a large proportion of kin and fellowtribesmen, most of whom are also socio-economic ppers. Clearly, these relationships constitute a network centred around Awuor, but not a bounded group.

Within this general network, there are indeed agnates, who theoretically constitute a bounded group. But it is not just agnates and clansmen who show their concern over the wife who has left her husband in Kibuli. Included, too, is at least one couple related to Awuor through his mother's brother. All these persons were already in established relationships of friendship with Awuor.

It is, of course, agnates and clansmen of both spouses who take the necessary action to reinstate the woman with her husband. But the fact that concern, though not action, over this affair extends beyond these particular groups to interested non-agnatic kin, indicates the existence around Awuor of a network which is close-knit enough to allow gossip and approximate statements of norms to circulate freely. Regarding clansmen as agnates by extension, we may refer to it as the effective kin network.

In so far as it consists mostly of agnates and clansmen, this network almost coincides with the wider corporate agnatic and clan group. But the addition of even one man and his wife, not agnatically related to Awuor, dislodges this coincidence.

By dint of his regular maintenance of ties within this kin network, Awuor subscribes to the notion that a conjugal relationship

concerns more than the two partners to it and that: (1) in the event of disharmony, infidelity, or inappropriate behaviour by either partner, members of the respective agnatic and clan groups are duty-bound to take action to reconcile the relationships; and (2) non-agnatic kin should express concern over the disrupted relationship and approve the reconciliation, though they are not expected to take any action.

Though close-knit, the kin network is theoretically unbounded in so far as any relative or clansman who comes to Kampala for the first time may join it.

Two factors seem to determine the extent to which the newcomer remains a regular member of the network and, as a consequence, the extent to which the network remains close-knit.

These are his agnatic proximity to ego, and his fulfilment of socio-economic aspirations. With regard to the latter, it will be remembered that a "brother" with whom Awuor had once lodged, had moved to Upper Nakawa, had improved his general status, and no longer kept in close contact with Awuor.

Awuor's wife visits her own relatives unaccompanied by her husband, though she accompanies him on visits to his kin, thus becoming a regular member of his effective kin network. Awuor would appear to preserve to a relatively high degree the traditional respect relationship with his affines. His wife still asks for and is granted permission to visit them in the formal manner normally characteristic of the rural home. Her own network of kin is thus distinct from Awuor's.

The members constituting Awuor's effective kin network may be distinguished from his more purely leisure associates, who include fellowtribesmen, non-fellowtribesmen, neighbours and fellow residents, and workmates. This leisure network is not, of course, as close-knit as the effective kin network. But the local confinement of Awuor's recreational activities tends to throw him into the company of the same friends, ranging from the Lower Nakawa players of ajua to fairly regular fellow drinkers at the Lower Kiswa beer stalls.

Awuor's wife does not habitually accompany her husband on such visits, though Awuor concedes his wife the right to expect him home at a reasonable hour. He also conceded the right that she should herself visit a relative two days after he went drinking at Lower Kiswa, even though this obliged him to look after the children, a task normally spurned by Luo males of his age. He also spends part of the previous evening indoors with his wife and children.

To what extent, then, can we speak of their conjugal role-relationship as being either segregated, intermediate, or joint?

I would suggest that the relationship combines all three aspects, each deriving from the contexts of the three networks distinguished.[1]

The relationship is joint with regard to Awuor's effective kin network. The couple visit, or are expected to visit, Awuor's kin together. A member of the network, a clansmen, visits Awuor and shares a meal at his house. Awuor's wife observes the role traditionally expected of Luo women to "welcome" visitors. Finally, as I have stressed repeatedly, the relations between the couple are subject

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[1] I need hardly mention that a much larger number of networks may be distinguished if more numerous and precise criteria of affiliation are used.

to the surveillance of members of the kin network.

But it is a segregated conjugal role-relationship with regard to the wife's kin network, some of whom will include her agnates. Awuor thus preserves the formality in his urban affinal relationships, even though, as I indicated in chapter II, many men protest against this formality while they are in town. He does not frequently accompany his wife on her visits to her kin, and, apart from expecting her to ask his permission to see them, they do not enter significantly into his normal life.

Two factors could alter this situation. One is default in what is usually a lengthy payment of bridewealth. Awuor claims to have fulfilled most of these obligations, though one may assume that, earlier in his marriage, his wife's affines occupied more of his attention in this respect. The second factor is, of course, default by the wife in the conjugal relationship, when Awuor would certainly invoke their aid.

Since neither of these factors apply in Awuor's marriage, his wife's agnates and other kin remain predominantly her concern and not his.

Awuor's wife is largely excluded from his purely leisure network of socio-economic peers. Though, as a woman, she is hardly likely to become a player of ajua, there would be no particular stigma against her accompanying her husband to a Lower Kiswa beer stall. Some other men had their wives with them there. But Awuor is uneasy about bringing his wife, in addition to which, arrangements would have to be made regarding care of the children. He expresses this sentiment and finds sympathy for it among his friends.

But he does return home from the beer stall at a fairly early hour. The next day he declines an invitation to another beer party and prefers to spend the rest of the evening with his wife and children. He also makes the other concessions which I have mentioned.

Awuor cannot be said to have segregated the activities of his leisure network of socio-economic peers from considerations of his wife, though he certainly has not integrated her into the activities. Their conjugal relationship is thus intermediately placed between joint familial considerations of husband and wife and the desire of the husband to segregate certain of his leisure activities from participation by his wife.

The important overall feature of the leisure network of socio-economic peers is that, in the attitudes by members to the status of women and the place of kin in the conjugal relationship, it echoes the norms circulating in the effective kin network itself. Thus, Awuor finds agreement among his friends at Lower Kiswa in his reluctance to bring his wife to drink with him at the beer stall. He and his fellow players of ajua in Lower Nakawa emphasise the value of "brothers" in maintaining the stability of a marriage and compare this with what they regard as the unhappy lot in marriage of the "Uganda Bantu". Awuor and his Luhya friend are conscious of any breach of the norm that kin should visit kin.

It is interesting to note, also, that Luo, Luhya, and Acholi are dominant non-kin members of this leisure network. They are all from segmentary tribes, a fact which helps the equivalence of norms in the network.

Awuor clearly experiences no conflicts of role-expectations in relationships of his close-knit, effective kin network and the leisure network of socio-economic peers. Indeed, the two sanction one another. On the one hand, Awuor's effective kin network provides a large proportion of his leisure relationships. On the other hand, his purely leisure network echoes the norms more clearly voiced by the former. Members of both networks are of approximately equal socio-economic status.

Not only does Awuor experience non-conflicting relationships in these two networks, but his wife fulfils the expectations of her that she become a regular member of her husband's kin network, while maintaining her own kin network independently, and, furthermore, accepting her exclusion from regular active participation in her husband's leisure network.

Kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships thus more or less determine each other for both spouses. There is a constant flow and feed-back of norms and sanctions which integrate the relationships with each other relatively smoothly. Moreover, this integration of roles and relationships operates within specific, local contexts.

The fact of Awuor's residence in Lower Nakawa crops up repeatedly as a part-determinant of personal association. He recognises his limited recreational scope by claiming that "we...(of Lower Nakawa) .. are to enjoy ourselves here or at Kwaziba..(or Lower Kiswa or Kibuli where he mostly goes)". He intimates, also, his recognition of the hierarchy of localities as outlined in chapter IV, and of his places of recreation as being located in the lower ranks of this

hierarchy. Implicit, of course, is the realisation that the levels of a man's income, education, and general sophistication determine the forms of recreation he is equipped to enjoy. Cinemas, "European" bottle-beer bars, and dances at "big clubs" are the perquisites of higher socio-economic status, and mostly concern the people of Upper Nakawa and Naguru.

Most of this is a statement of fact, but a little of it is rationalisation. After all, at Naguru as well as Upper Nakawa, there are small minorities whose socio-economic standing is no higher than the average of Lower Nakawa. It is often the sheer fact of residence alone in the higher status locality which affects the subjective assessment of this standing by those living in a lower status locality. Thus, Awuor's Luhya friend derived prestige through his acquaintanceship with Naguru residents, some of whom were of no higher socio-economic standing than either himself or Awuor.

Finally, Awuor states what appears to be a norm approaching mutual acceptance when he suggests that his Upper Nakawa "brother" should be held responsible for initiating and maintaining visits to (and, presumably, other general relationships with) relatives living in Lower Nakawa.

The statements and actions of Awuor suggest, therefore, a connection between highly integrated kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships, and residence in a lower status locality.

I follow on from this suggestion by concentrating now on the networks of relationships centred around Awuor's storekeeper "friend", who lives in Upper Nakawa.

It may be remembered that this storekeeper, whose name is Okach, moved to Upper Nakawa from a Lower Nakawa bedspace when he married. He was at that time sharing the bedspace with Awuor, and was a semi-skilled machine operator.

He had many employment advantages over Awuor then, though they would not be regarded as such in the present over-employment of partially educated men in Kampala. At the time, however, he had seven years of formal education, could speak reasonably good English, and had been in Kampala long enough to understand the values and methods underlying the particular forms of urban individual achievement. At the present time, a high standard of formal education, no less than Ordinary School Certificate, or an equivalent technical qualification, is necessary for comparable success.

Okach is not closely related to Awuor, but comes from the same rural village.[1] Some of his relatives are also related to Awuor, so that their respective kin networks overlap slightly. Additionally, ties of common rural residence take on part of the idiom of kinship, especially in town. For instance, Awuor lodged with Okach and expected the latter to find him a job, as he might expect an agnate or clansman.

But Okach does, of course, have close relatives of his own. Some live in Lower and Upper Nakawa, some in the suburbs, and some at Naguru and Ntinda. Does, then, the estrangement or lesser

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[1] In fact, the Luo do not have villages in the sense of nucleated settlements of homesteads. But membership of adjacent or nearby homesteads of a generally definable rural area, largely coincident with that of a maximal lineage or clan, involves similar feelings of fraternity and familiarity, which assume particular significance in town.

interactional density in his relationships with Awuor reflect similar estrangements in relationships with his own urban kin, some of whom are close agnates?

c) Case 2: Segmentary Tribesman Exhibiting
i) Relatively Conflicting Kinship, Conjugal, and Leisure Relationships,
progressing to: ii) Reduced Conflict in these Relationships.

Okach moved in 1954 from the Lower Nakawa bedspace he was sharing with Awuor. He had been in Kampala since late 1950. He, too, had spent an initial period in Kampala living in a suburb. He had lodged with a patrilateral parallel cousin who was some ten years older and married. Since this cousin had full brothers living with him, Okach's departure from the suburb to the Lower Nakawa bedspace was regarded as relieving congestion in the home and no quarrel occurred between Okach and his cousin.

Okach was able to maintain frequent and close relations with this cousin while he was single, even though he lived in relatively distant Lower Nakawa. When Okach married and moved to Upper Nakawa, there was an immediate reduction in the number of visits he paid his cousin. Okach explained simply that he now had a home of his own at which to spend his time. This was not how his cousin viewed the matter.

His cousin pointed out that Okach had made three achievements simultaneously.

He had reached the stage at which he could afford to marry. This stage, as I have indicated, is not merely a point on the social life cycle. For many segmentary tribesmen who work in town, it also

indicates that they have saved enough cash from their earnings to make an initial contribution to the high bridewealth payments normally required of them. In other words, marriage is partly a socio-economic achievement in this context.

Okach had also moved to a more expensive house in Upper Nakawa at his marriage. Again, the movement can be justified on the practical grounds that Okach could not easily accommodate his wife in a bedspace. On the other hand, as his cousin suggested, the movement meant more to Okach than this. He could, after all, have rented a 17/- house in Lower Nakawa, one of which was indeed available slightly earlier than the 23/- house he did choose to rent.

Finally, it was shortly after he moved that Okach elevated his occupational status by relinquishing his semi-skilled job as machine operator and obtaining skilled and more lucrative employment as a storekeeper, in which he was wholly required to use his knowledge of English.

It is understandable, therefore, that, to his cousin, Okach's movement from Lower to Upper Nakawa should represent a cluster of more or less simultaneous achievements, and that these should be regarded as largely responsible for the immediate reduction in the number of visits Okach then paid his cousin.

And, to some extent, these assumptions were true. Okach, not surprisingly, did develop interests which transcended those of his cousin, and did evaluate himself more highly in socio-economic status.

He tended to frequent "European" bottle-beer bars far more than the "African" beer stalls. He went to movies in the city centre,

His company of socio-economic peers were his cousin's superiors. He tried to integrate his wife into his leisure relationships far more than his cousin. He required his wife's co-operation and interest in many more of his leisure activities. She, in turn, expected him to reciprocate by accompanying her on visits to her kin, his affines. He did not preserve the formality of affinal relationships to the same extent as his cousin, who, in all these attributes of role performance, shared much in common with Awuor.

Eventually, Okach moved to Naguru. This ultimate movement seemed to take Okach away even further from expectations of the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman. His cousin also appaared to accept the normative implications of the movement, in the same way as Awuor had accepted that Okach, when he earlier moved to Upper Nakawa, would inevitably visit him less often. Conflicts of role-expectation experienced by Okach were thus reduced in their intensity, though they were not totally eliminated. I illustrate this gradual process through Okach's own recounts, stated in English, and comment on them.

"It is true that I found it more difficult to visit my cousin. But I also found it more difficult to visit other brothers who live in places like Kibuli and Mengo. When a man has a wife, he must pèspect her and heed her wishes. How could she enjoy malwa beer as I used to as an unmarried man? You know that she successfully completed KAPE (Kenya African Preliminary Examination, representing eight years of school education). She wants to attend the dances at Naguru and likes to go to the cinema sometimes, whereas the sort of people who live in Lower Nakawa and Kibuli prefer to take their enjoyment in malwa and waragi."

Okach brackets together the kinds of recreatinnal activity undertaken by people in Lower Nakawa and the suburbs, and illustrates that they depart somewhat from his own. His wife has more direct say and participation in these activities than Awuor's wife, though, to some degree, he uses his wife's interests in a convenient rationalisation of his own. Assuming that the concept of connected nes in conjugal role-relationships is relative, we may say that the relationship between Okach and his wife is more joint than that obtaining between Awuor and his wife. This applies in all three networks of leisure relationships dealt with in Awuor's case.

Firstly, Okach's wife is expected to accompany him on visits to his kin. In this respect, their relationship does not differ from that of Awuor and his wife. There is the suggestion, however, that Okach does depart a little from his ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman by including rather more non-agnates in his effective kin network than Awuor does.

Secondly, unlike Awuor, Okach is expected by his wife to accompany her on visits to her kin.

Thirdly, she is actively integrated into her husband's leisure relationships to a greater extent than is Awuor's wife.

These differences have not always existed of course. Okach explains how, in his early days in Upper Nakawa, his loosening of ties within his close-knit, largely agnatic, effective kin network involved him in a series of disputes.

"There was the time when I took an active part in advising a Luo friend (who was not related), and whom he had first met in Kampala)

about his marrigge. You see, this friend had fallen in love with an unmarried Luo girl who was lodging with her married brother in Upper Nakawa. The girl's brother was trying to find a good husband for her - someone who was able to start paying cattle (for bridewealth). My friend couldn't afford this yet, even though he was of the age to marry, and even though he and the girl loved each other most. The girl's brother couldn't allow the marriage to take place between them, but the girl refused to be introduced to the other Luo men who had arranged with her brother to see her. She chose to live with my friend in his house in Upper Nakawa. Many of her brothers (i.e. agnates) accused my friend and even complained to my friend's brothers (i.e. his agnates). But it was from me, as his best friend, that he took advice. My advice was that he should keep the girl with him. They should not worry about the cattle yet, because, as a clerk, he would not be too long in saving money to buy cattle. As a clerk, also, he could not be expected to be treated as a porter. That was my advice.

My own brothers (again, mostly agnates and clansmen) said I had done very badly to give such advice. They said it was obvious that the girl's brother was right and that the girl and my friend were behaving badly. I argued with them (sometimes individually and sometimes during a visit to a group of kinsmen) and said that it was surely better that she have a good husband whom she loved and who could afford to keep her well in the future. They said that even an educated man could be a thief (i.e. could refuse to pay bridewealth) and that I was acting proudly because I also was like my friend (i.e. of the same general occupational category and sharing similar ideas). We sometimes quarrelled and I was sometimes accused of being proud."

Contrary to Awuor, Okach did not fully subscribe to the notion that a conjugal relationship is the immediate concern of close kin as well as the partners to it themselves. Okach's close-knit kin network was similar to Awuor's in its subscription to this value.

Okach rejects the network's expectations of him in this matter. Moreover, he draws an implicit, though very clear socio-economic distinction between himself and his fellowtribesman friend on the one hand, and the members of the kin network itself on the other.

Another dispute ensued a year afterwards. This concerned Okach's refusal to continue to pay the school fees of a patrilateral cross-cousin. He had already helped two full brothers in Kampala by accommodating them and providing their food and clothes. One had eventually obtained employment. The other left Kampala and continued schooling in Kenya on a government scholarship. Okach, now with two young children of his own and intent also on saving money "for a car", had steadfastly refused to continue paying his cousin's school fees. The cousin was at school in Kenya and Okach normally sent money home each term, until his refusal. The "parents" immediately communicated with his close kinsmen in the town, again mostly agnates, who protested against his decision. Envy may have been a feeling behind this protest by relatively deprived kinsmen, but the protest was also legitimate according to the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman. Okach was adamant and endured the condemnation to which he was subject from both town and country.

Within his own minimal lineage, too, Okach found further disfavour when he sent only 200/- of the 600/- his father had said was necessary to plough "their" land at home.

None of this is to say that Okach was not an active member of a kin network. His relationship with his fellow Luo friend, though the latter was not a blood relative, became pseudo-kinship, as did a number of his relationships with fellowtribesmen of the same socio-

economic status and resident in either Upper Nakawa or Naguru. Additionally, his network did include blood relatives, though these tended to be selected in the light of common recreational interests, which, as I have illustrated, largely rest on socio-economic factors. Okach's close-knit kin network of socio-economic inferiors became progressively less significant for him, while his relationships within the pseudo-kinship network of socio-economic peers became more established.

This pseudo-kinship network is defined as such because mutual aid, reciprocal visiting, and reference behaviour were normative, as they are in the network of real kin. But the mutual aid extended beyond problems of urban subsistence to those of conspicuous consumption and often entailed informal financial loans given and received for the purchase of a car, motor cycle or some furniture. It also included "anti-ethnocentric" advice on marriage and, importantly, on residence.

It was through this network, therefore, as well as through an overlapping network of non-fellowtribesmen friends, that Okach was persuaded to apply for a house at Naguru, to which he eventually moved. The form of reciprocal visiting stressed the coming together of two or a few individual families rather than individuals into groups. Thus, Okach and his wife were often visited in their home by a single family: on one occasion it was a patrilateral cousin and his wife and children; then, it was his wife's relative and wife; then, Okach's sister and husband; his Luo friend and wife; another Luo friend and wife; an unmarried man related to Okach through his mother;

another patrilateral cousin, also unmarried, of Okach; and, on succeeding occasions, other of Okach's wife's relatives, and other of his affines, all accompanied by their spouses, came to see them.

All couples shared certain attributes in common. They each tended to constitute a joint conjugal role-relationship. They frequented bottle-beer bars, cinemas, "club" dances, aspired to possession of a car, and mostly lived in Naguru, particularly, or Upper Nakawa. Moreover, they stressed the integral part played by the "home" in these visits and in their conceptions of their status-images.[1] Thus, it was important to have "good", Sikh-made furniture, raffia mats, small embroidered table-cloths, and suitable wall-adornments. Some of them grew flowers in their gardens in preference to maize or some other edible crop. Together, they showed a broad normative congruence which emphasised the desirability of an autonomous nuclear family life, and of the common leisure interests outlined above.

This common desire for greater individual and family autonomy is the most significant criterion defining the pseudo-kinship network. It links fellowtribesmen, who do not necessarily know each other, to a central ego, in a common interest against the opposing interests of an ideological tribal collectivity. The latter are vested in and proclaimed by members of the various kin networks specific to each couple.

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[1] cf. Young and Wilmott, 1957, op.cit., p.136. "In a life now house-centred instead of kinship-centred, competition for status takes the form of a struggle for material acquisitions.

The pseudo-kinship network is loose-knit. For instance, of those couples who visited Okach, and were visited by him, only a small number knew each other. Whereas Awuor's effective kin network, being composed mostly of agnates, regularly became corporate in parts, while remaining essentially unbounded and ego-centred, Okach's pseudo-kinship network included no corporate sectors, while also remaining unbounded and ego-centred.

The pseudo-kinship network overlaps considerably in its functions with what may be called Okach's simple leisure network. That is to say, Okach has other leisure relationships with persons of other tribes who cannot easily become pseudo-kinsmen, but who emphasise similar attributes of socio-economic peerage, the integral place of the home in nuclear family visiting, and the frequenting of bottle-beer bars, cinemas, and "club" dances. Not being Luo, they cannot fully understand the conflicts of expectations to which Luo pseudo-kinsmen are involved. But, if they are segmentary tribesmen, they gain partial understanding from their own experiences.

Okach's leisure network is also more loose-knit than Awuor's. Okach is not so locally confined in his recreational activities as Awuor, so that he is less likely to be thrown so regularly into the same company of friends, though this point is not to be overstressed. The main distinguishing feature is that, by virtue of its local confinement, Awuor's leisure network is always potentially more closely-knit than Okach's. Thus, Awuor's friends may range from those playing ajua to those found drinking at Kwaziba or Lower Kiswa, whereas Okach's friends may be spread out beyond Kampala East as well

as within its individual localities, though there is a preponderance of them at Naguru and Upper Nakawa. Furthermore, Okach's wife's friends are also likely to be members of this network, whereas Awuor's wife's friends are not. These differences also apply to their respective real kin and pseudo-kinship networks.

There is the related feature that Okach is better able than Awuor to incorporate workplace associates in his leisure network of socio-economic peers. Awuor's workmates are largely unskilled like himself and continue to stress the relative economic inter-dependance of kin and clansmen. Okach's workmates are economically more independent and aspire to a larger number of expressive relationships with non-kin.

Conflicting kinship, conjugal, and leisure relatinnships became less so for Okach only after he remained adamant over certain issues and refused to concede his close-knit, real kin network the right to prescribe his behaviour. Coincident with these issues, is the single issue of his movement from Upper Nakawa to Naguru. This movement was made by reference to networks of socio-economic peers, and its motive influenced by the latter.

Putting it simply, we may say that Okach moved from Lower to Upper Nakawa, then to Naguru, while he was also moving through successively higher socio-economic peer-groups and interests, and while he was largely exchanging his close-knit, effective network of kin for a pseudo-kinship network, which, in many respects, is indistinguishable from his multi-tribal leisure network of socio-economic peers.

Through the idiom of residence in variously evaluated localities, Okach has reduced the intensity of conflicting kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships. But it is a reduction of conflict, not an elimination.

"I have been in Naguru two and a half years now. I know that I have climbed a lot in my life. I have many friends here at Naguru. I also have some at Ntinda and Kololo. They are of many different tribes and are big clerks or hold good jobs. Those of my brothers who call me proud are somehow jealous of my success. They make it difficult for me to keep visitng them in a friendly manner. But I am very kind to my real brothers and I always look after my parents at our home."

Okach thus admits his passage from a close-knit, effective network of real kinsmen, mostly agnates, to the loose-knit networks of pseudo-kinsmen and leisure associates. At the saem time he stresses that his obligations to close agnates, that is, "real brothers" and "my parents at home", remain more or less unchanged. And, in essence, they are indeed largely unaltered. Okach does continue to help his full siblings with money, occasional accommodation and clothes. He always responds to a request from his father and mother, also for money or clothes, even though he may not forward as much as was requested. He does not allow his visits home to his parents to become too infrequent, nor does he ever go home without gifts for his parents. It would seem, therefore, that relationships directly stemming from his natal nuclear family most closely adhere to the norms of his ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman, but that relationships stemming from his extended family, the various

lineage levels, the clan, and from membership of the ideological tribal collectivity, depart somewhat from these norms without actually losing sight of them.

d) Summary of Cases 1 and 2

The cases of Awuor and Okach each illustrate different integrations of leisure, kinship, and conjugal relationships.

In Awuor's case they are highly integrated. It is difficult for him to alter one set of relationships without altering any other. Kinsmen, mostly agnates, occupy the governing set of relationships. His conjugal and leisure relationships were to greater and lesser extents, respectively, determined by his relationships with kinsmen.

But his leisure relationships are also partly governed by the facts of residence and by his socio-economic status. In these contexts alone they may be manipulated to alter conjugal and kinship relationships.

Thus, Okach elevates his residential and socio-economic status, and, at the same time, fits his kin and conjugal relationships to the facts of his new leisure relationships. A loose-knit, pseudo-kin network takes the place of the close-knit, effective network of real kin. The leisure and pseudo-kin networks overlap considerably, and both require a relatively joint conjugal relationships.

Whereas, in Awuor's close-knit, effective kin network, generally the same persons interact, Okach's networks of both pseudo-kin and non-fellowtribesmen include a constantly mobile personnel, who are generally not known, or at least, less well known, to each other.

In Awuor's case, the triad of relationships involved people who directly affect each other's behaviour, through condemnative sanctions invoked from the rural home as well as town. In Okach's case, these effects on behaviour are indirect and persist more through imitation and emulation.

Okach emphasises the rights of individual choice in his triad of relationships. Awuor emphasises communal stricture and a rigid adherence to consistent sets of ideal norms.

e) Centralised tribesmen and the Urban Patron-Client Relationship

I now consider kinship, conjugal and leisure relationships as they may be experienced and conducted by centralised tribesmen in Kampala East.

As well as the many other important differences of structure and role-expectation between segmentary and centralised tribesmen, there is one very important feature largely exclusive to the latter. This is the system of patron-client relationships.

Southall[1] and Fallers[2] stress this feature of Ganda society. The former explains its extension to contemporary urban conditions. All centralised societies have systems of patron-client relationships, whether or not they are specifically expressed as such in the vernacular. We may regard such systems as dominant features of such feudal-like centralised states, with their patrimonial retainers, as the Interlacustrine Bantu.

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1 A.W. Southall, 1956, Determinants of the Social Structure of African Urban Populations, with Special Reference to Kampala (Uganda), in Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara, I.A.I. for Unesco.

2 L.A. Fallers, ed, 1964, The King's Men, O.U.P. for E.A.I.S.R.

For the Ganda Fallers states, "Personal ambition was, and is, considered to be a right and proper emotion. Though there are opprobrious terms in Luganda for the "upstart" or the "pander", yet the pushing, energetic fellow was looked up to, even though he kicked others down in his ascent. He was admired because he was able to build up a personal following, but also because he ran risks ....."[1]

Southall states, "The idea is deeply rooted among the Ganda that advancement comes from personal sponsoring rather than as the natural reward of merit. One who seeks advancement must therefore pay court to those who have the power to confer it on him." "....a social relationship is built up, and as time goes on the client can beg his patron for favourable consideration when lucrative jobs fall vacant,....."[2] Ingratiation, leading to initial dependency on a patron, may eventually enable the dependent or client to achieve independent and equal status provided he uses his period of dependency to accumulate the wealth and regular income necessary for a permanent higher standard of living.

The system of patron-client relationships is very obvious in Ganda society and extends to urban Ganda. As an integral feature of centralised society we may expect to find a similar system among the Toro, Nyoro and Soga. Among these tribes the system does not appear to so clearly delineated and, in the rural areas, is apparently less emphasised than among the Ganda. In Kampala, however, it is far more evident and as a common principle of urban organisation links the Ganda with these three tribes more than any other of their shared

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[1] Fallers, op.cit., p.273, 1964

[2] Southall, 1956, op.cit, pp. 575-6

rural-based principles of social organisation.

It is not surprising that patron-client relationships receive heightened emphasis among centralised tribesmen in Kampala. In the first place the instrumentality inherent in the relationships is particularly suited to the various forms of urban individual achievement, which are both rapid and transitory. In the second place it is of mutual benefit to all centralised tribespeople in Kampala, and to some extent reduces the social distance between them.

The four tribes constitute an obvious super-tribal category in Kampala in which there is the general recognition of common social and cultural characteristics. But the Ganda have remained the dominant reference group within this category, a fact deriving both from their position as host or local tribe in and around Kampala, and from the immense cultural and political influence they exert throughout the nation of Uganda.

In Kampala the admixture of the four tribes, and, indeed, of members of other centralised tribes, enables the dominant Ganda patterns of relationships to be imitated within the super-tribal category, which, to this extent, then ceases to be a category and becomes something approaching a collectivity. So it is with urban patron-client relationships. These may frequently obtain between members of different tribes within this super-tribal collectivity, as well as between fellowtribesmen.

These values of self-advancement are clearly distinguishable among centralised tribespeople in Kampala from the more rigid egalitarian values of segmentary tribespeople. In fact, it is

possibly rarely that values of any kind may be picked out from the contexts of urban social behaviour so easily. Were this not so, I would have hesitated in continuing the analysis to include the distinction.

Perhaps the main analytical feature of the urban patron-client relationships and the values behind them is that they often cross-cut kin or other groups based on descent, and may even cut across tribal groups. Thus, among the segmentary tribes, as I have illustrated, even the mildest forms of individual self-advancement involve conflicts of role-expectation between kin, clan and fellowtribesmen. I have suggested that status-aspirants use the facts of residence to lessen these conflicts.

Among the centralised tribespeople of Kampala the demands of kin and clan groups are minimal, certainly nowhere near as great as among segmentary tribesmen. We may assume, therefore, that there is a general absence of such conflicts between kin, clan and fellow-tribesmen as have been described for segmentary tribesmen. Indeed, among the Ganda again, kin groups traditionally specifically encouraged the attachment of members to related but higher status patrons, so that their traditional systems of kinship and patron-client relationships may be regarded loosely as sympathetic, if not mutually reinforcing. Southall states, "The path to greatness was upbringing in a great household, and all tried to send their children to be reared as pages in the households of their most important relatives, on either the father's or mother's side." He adds that, though this "traditional technique of having children reared in the households

of important relatives is still widely practised, ... for many its importance is reduced by the interruptions of school attendance, as well as the many new techniques of social advancement which have now become possible."[1] Many such new techniques in Kampala involve additional relationships with non-kin and non-fellowtribesmen.

We may further assume that, for status-aspirants in Kampala East of centralised tribes, the general absence of conflicts of role-expectation and values within kin groups, and the clearly expressed positive sanctioning of patron-client relationships between kin and non-kin, and fellowtribesmen and non-fellowtribesmen, reduce the importance of the facts of residence as enabling the resolution of contradictory kin and civic roles.

Patron-client relationships constitute a mere fraction of all leisure, or formerly leisure relationships. Yet, in view of the way in which patron-client relationships usually directly derive from relationships forged through the sharing of common recreation, whether in the locality or workplace, we may assume that the values underlying systems of patron-clientage among urban centralised tribespeople also pervade most purely leisure relationships. Thus, in a study of social stratification focused on the hierarchy of variously differentiated urban leisure groups, we may expect centralised tribespeople again to experience no more than minimal conflicts between relationships in these, and kin and conjugal relationships. Accordingly, the facts of residence assume less importance as means of reducing conflicts.

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[1] A.W. Southall, 1956, op.cit, p.575.

I now explore these assumptions by presenting two cases concerning Toro. I have selected Toro in preference to either Ganda, Nyoro or Soga for three main reasons. The Ganda, as the local tribe, are always a special case, for the obvious reason that they are urban migrants to a limited extent only. The Toro live at about the same distance from Kampala as the Luo, from whom the previous two cases were taken. The Toro are more numerous in Greater Kampala than either the Soga or Nyoro and, of these three, most closely resemble the Luo in this respect.

f) Case 3: Centralised Tribesman Exhibiting Loosely Integrated Kinship, Conjugal, and Leisure Relationships.

Isoke is a Toro who lives in Lower Nakawa. He is thirty, has been married five years, and has two children. He has held unskilled jobs for the nine years he has worked in Kampala. He is at present an office messenger-cum-sales assistant in a small Ganda business. He is only required to use Luganda in his work. He speaks a little English and has six years of education. His urban life history, as he recounted it but translated by an English-speaking informant, is set out below in full.

"I first came to Kampala from my home in Toro in 1955. Two of my brothers (one real and the other a half-brother by his father's second wife) had managed to get work in Fort Portal (the small main town in Toro District). I thought it was useless to try and find work there because the place is too small. My brothers were just lucky. I knew I would have to try Kampala.

I wrote to a brother (matrilateral cross-cousin) living at Mulago who replied saying he would keep me with him in Mulago until I found a job.

In Mulago people were quite friendly and many gave me advice on how to get jobs. They said it was useful to behave like a Ganda and to know their language because, after Europeans, they were the biggest people, even bigger than Asians.

I found learning Luganda quite easy. After only two months I got a job as a cleaner and sweeper at Mulago hospital, though it was a Toro friend who got me that job, not a Ganda.

After some more months I got a job as an office-boy at U.E.B. (Uganda Electricity Board). I thought that in this job I might get the opportunity of doing further studies, because they might have wanted to train me to be a clerk.

It was too far to travel from Mulago to U.E.B. every day so I asked a brother (a patrilateral cross-cousin) in Lower Nakawa if I could lodge with him. I had a real brother living in Kisenyi but I feared that place and thought Nakawa would be a better place. I was sorry to leave that brother in Mulago. We got on very well. His wife (a Haya with whom the "brother" had established a temporary though relatively enduring sexual and domestic relationship) treated us both kindly and always cooked properly for us.

This brother in Lower Nakawa with whom I next lodged was working as a carpenter with the Ministry of Works. He did not have a Trade Testing Certificate, but he could speak a little English like myself. I thought he would give me advice about improving my position in town. But he drank a lot and spent all his money on prostitutes (in fact, he had a series of lovers who stayed at the house for varying short periods). I thought he was wasting too much time and money on these things. During all this time I was having mostly only one lover. This was a Ganda girl who lived with her brother in Upper Nakawa. Her brother was a clerk and was paying for his sister to learn typing at the Kampala Commercial School. He liked me though he did not approve of his sister staying for nights at our house. But she usually did stay with me, especially over weekends.

I was able to get a house of my own in Lower Nakawa and so my Ganda lover stayed with me there.

But then there was this Toro girl whom I met while visiting some of my friends at Mulago. She was also lodging with a brother and had

come to receive some training for a job. She spoke good English, better than me I think, but her brother just made her do all the cooking and housework without ever bothering to send her to a school or evening institute. I visited her often. Sometimes I tried to advise her brother that he was wronging her but he just claimed that he was still too short of money. Yet he was a laboratory assistant at Mulago hospital.

Because of this Toro girl, I decided to send my Ganda lover back to her brother. I wanted her to continue to be my lover, but not to live at my house any more. She was not happy about this. We even quarrelled. But she eventually found another lover, this time at Naguru, and I was able to bring my Toro lover to live at my house.

Though my father has quite a lot of land at our home, we are six brothers altogether and three sisters, and it is the three eldest brothers who will take most of his land. I shall need to buy some myself, probably near Fort Portal, though I can always claim some of my father's if I want to.

My Toro lover's father had much more land. Moreover, she had only two brothers and one sister. She said it would be possible for me to marry her in the customary way at home and to settle on his land.

I did not decide on marriage immediately. However, my Toro lover produced two children in three years and I think we shall now marry properly. Her parents have asked for 1,200/- bridewealth but so far I have refused to pay this (some two and a half years after their claim was made). They claim that the girl is educated, yet she still has not been educated in the town by her brother. She has not learned to type, so she can not get a job as a copy-typist. Even now, she has forgotten her English and could get no job at all.

Shortly after I moved into my house in Lower Nakawa (i.e. the one rented in his name), I started going to these Naguru clubs and dances. My English is not very good but as I speak fluent Luganda this doesn't matter at these dances and at the beer-bar ("European" bottle-beer). There I met a Ganda clerk who lives at Naguru. He

earns about 800/- a month. He is planning to buy (in fact, lease) a plot of land in the Kibuga. I pleased this man a great deal. He liked my conversation and said I was better company than his own friends and brothers. Later on, we used to go to Upper Kiswa together to drink and even roam with girls. Sometimes we got to Toplife or White Nile. But the trouble was that I was not spending as much as he. He promised to ask around for a good job for me. Eventually, a friend of his who has a small business employed me as a salesman (in fact, as an office messenger, occasionally required to serve the practically all-African clientele). This small business (a shop in Nakulabye) is a very good one, and I am treated very well by its owner. I earn more than in my previous job, but not much more.

The trouble is that I am not able to improve myself. Either I must speak fluent English and get a good job that way, or else I must be a business-man (i.e. own his own lucrative shop) like my employer.

The differences of sociological fact between this urban biography and that of Aquor, the Luo, in case 1, are particularly striking. Though "brothers" are constantly sought as sources of aid, there is no statement of strict obligations pertaining between them. It is irrelevant to Isoke whether his "brother" is of his father's or mother's side. There is no more than mild condemnation of the Toro who neglects to pay for his sister's proposed training in Kampala as a typis

In the small number of temporary marital unions outlined in the case, there is no mobilisation of kinsmen with a common interest to thwart the union. Even Isoke's ambivalent attitude to the bridewealth payments his Toro wife's parents demand does not evoke kinsmen of the latter. Even at this stage the conjugal relationship is primarily subject to the control of the two partners themselves and concerns the girl's parents only in so far as they require compensation for the

loss of an "educated" daughter. But the parents will not have a say in the actual conduct of the union.

Isoke's statements concerning the future of his father's land hint at the possibility that he desires to subscribe to the increasing tendency of successful urban migrants to buy land in their home districts near a main town, whether or not this results in the spatial separation of brothers from each other and from their father.

We may compare Isoke's reluctance to lodge with a real brother in Kisenyi in preference to lodging with a patrilateral cross-cousin with Awuor's statement of his obligation to lodge initially in Kampala with a patrilateral parallel cousin rather than with a mere clansman, even though this was not his preference. Isoke is allowed more choice in the initial selection of relationships with his kinsmen.

Isoke assumes de facto marital status by a gradual process. His carpenter "brother" will presumably do the same. Eventually they will both be accorded de jure marital status, not necessarily if and when bridewealth has been made, but usually after a long period of mutually satisfactory co-habitation and with the birth of children. This gradual process of acquiring successive lovers and eventually settling down with one of them does not evoke open disapproval. Isoke thought his carpenter "brother" was "wasting his time and money" but he did not disapprove of love affairs as such, since, in the next breath, he mentions his own love affair with the Ganda. There may not yet be openly stated approval of this gradual process of assuming marital status, but, among urban migrants of centralised tribes at least, there is not disapproval.

It does not make much sense in the context of this gradual process to talk of marital instability. Rather, the process constitutes an alternative system to the traditional system of arranging a marriage at home with a girl chosen from home, with both sets of parents' consent. It is the latter system which the Luo and other segmentary tribesmen in Kampala uphold.

Isoke's leisure relationships extend to the dances and beer-bars of Naguru and Upper Kiswa. He does not recount in his life history his equally frequent visits to the "African" beer-stalls of Lower Kiswa He does not need to. His kin and fellowtribesmen do not consider him obliged to make such visits, and he does not consider himself obliged to mention them. Both Awuor and Okach made frequent references to the facilities of either a higher or lower status locality. Similarly, they felt obliged to justify or excuse their continuing or loosened relationships with kin.

Isoke does recognise, however, the undesirability of his remaining an economic and social dependant of his Ganda patron. He says, "... the trouble was that I was not spending as much as he", hinting at the probability that much of his high status recreation was sponsored by the Ganda.

His Ganda patron is instrumental in enabling him to find another, slightly more prestigeful and lucrative job, but, clearly, much more is needed if Isoke is to assume equality of status with his patron. He states this, "...I am not able to improve myself. Either I must speak fluent English and get a good job that way, or else I must be a business-man like my employer." The chances of Isoke achieving

such a position and acquiring the regular income necessary to continue on a more equal basis in the company of his patron are, of course, limited.

Thus, it is primarily restrictions of a socio-economic nature which inhibit him achieving a more permanent elevation of his leisure relationships. But it is not conflicts of kinship role-expectation which inhibit this rise.

Clearly, Isoke recognises the value of residence in a higher status locality as an attribute of higher personal status. This recognition is common to all townsmen regardless of tribe. But, different from Awuor and Okach, Isoke does not need to regard movements in residence and the implications surrounding such movements as useful, catalytic steps towards reducing kinship role conflicts.

Isoke ends his urban biography on a note which suggests he has now fulfilled all the aspirations he may hope to.

He has, indeed, resigened himself to his present job, or one like it, to permanent residence in Lower Nakawa (i.e. while he is in Kampala) and to a mixed recreational life, with relationships distributed fairly widely between socio-economic peers, such as may be found at Lower Nakawa and Lower Kiswa, socio-economic superiors, such as the colleagues of any one patron to whom he may attach himself at Naguru, or, to a lesser extent, Upper Nakawa, and kinsmen, both agnates and matrilaterals, and both close and distant.

This wide distribution of leisure relationships merely indicates greater selection of them by Isoke. He exercises greater individual choice than either Awuor or Okach, since, as a centralised tribesman, he is not a member of regularly defined solidary kin and tribal groups.

He is, of course, a member of a local group, whether this is a locality or neighbourhood unit. But mobility through such groups is positively sanctioned within his tribal collectivity. For segmentary tribesmen it is not. For both segmentary and centralised tribesmen, of course, it is membership of such local groups which encourages the norms of individual and family status competition. This situation involves the former in the conflicts of role-expectation I have discussed, while for the latter no such conflicts are felt.

Isoke's wide distribution of leisure relationships may be viewed in another way. He is no more than a marginal partner to such relationships at Naguru. He is dependent on a patron, and it is the latter's network of socio-economic peers with whom Isoke interacts. Until Isoke assumes independence of status in this context, which can only be gained through socio-economic equality, he will be unable to establish an independent network at Naguru. The existence of his cufrent network will always be dependent on his relationship with his Ganda patron.

As a consequence of his marginal position in these relationships, Isoke's wife is excluded from participation in them. I illustrate her exclusion below.

Three factors in particular seem respnnsible for her exclusion. The first is that Isoke and his patron "used to go to Upper Kiswa together to drink and even roam with girls". On these occasions at least, Isoke's wife's presence would not be welcomed. The second factor concerns Isoke's economic dependence on his patron, who was unlikely to extend his generosity to Isoke's wife as well. The third

factor more directly concerns the network of relationships in which Isoke is involved through his Ganda patron. Most of the Ganda's friends and regular leisure associates had consciously integrated their wives into these relationships. Like Okach, they see a favourable urban status-image as requiring individual and family autonomy. The integration of wife and home into many leisure relationships is thus prerequisite. Deriving from this value is the commonly expressed desire among such men to "marry a wife who is educated and who may even be able to work as a typist, stenographer, or teacher". Thus, those of the Ganda's associates' wives who were publicly displayed tended to be of a higher level of education and sophistication than Isoke's wife. The three factors combined to inhibit the latter's inclusion in her husband's Naguru network.

But she does not suffer total exclusion from her husband's leisure relationships. It will be remembered that Isoke met and married her in Kampala. She had enjoyed individual freedom in many activities. In common with most centralised tribeswomen who come to Kampala as single women, and, to a lesser extent, with all such tribeswomen, she demands something approaching equality and independence of status with her husband. She demands, among other things, to be incorporated into some of his leisure relationships, which, perforce, are those located in Isoke's network of socio-economic peers. These are found among his Lower Nakawa neighbours, the "African" beer-stalls of Lower Kiswa, and among friends living in the suburbs. They include some kin, though mostly fellowtribesmen and non-fellowtribesmen.

These facts are apparent in the following short diary, again taken by myself, of Isoke's recreation over five consequtive days.

Tuesday: Isoke returned from work at about 4.45 p.m. His wife and two Rwanda and Luhya housewife neighbours were sitting in the sun outside his house. Isoke joked with the women and told his wife that he would shortly visit a Luhya friend a few houses away. He quickly washed himself and left.

The Luhya friend worked in the same block of shops as Isoke. He had been in Uganda ten years and spoke good Luganda as well as fluent Swahili. Many of his friends were Toro. A lesser number were Ganda. Isoke asked the Luhya if he would like to accompany him to a beer-stall in Lower Kiswa. The Luhya explained that he had a relative coming to see him that evening, and suggested that he meet Isoke at Musoke's stall later in the evening if he was able to come. Isoke agreed and returned home. His wife had matoke (steamed bananas) waiting for him. The elder child (aged two and a half) was sitting on the door-step. The younger was being nursed by its mother. Isoke's wife's sister-in-law had come to look after the child for part of the evening. Isoke and his wife often visited friends on Tuesday evenings.

Isoke suggested they go to Musoke's beer-stall in Lower Kiswa this evening. His wife agreed. She had already during the day visited her sister in Upper Nakawa and said she would not stay long in Lower Kiswa. She left Musoke's stall with Isoke at about 6.45 p.m. Isoke was keen that she should reach home before sunset (between 7.15 and 7.30 p.m.). He said they normally went to beer-stalls together over the weekend but not weekday evenings. Isoke's wife appared to look forward to an evening gossiping with her sister-in-law.

Isoke returned to Musoke's stall and was soon engrossed in conversation with two Acholi and a Ganda over the Prime Minister's proposed marriage with a Ganda girl. The Acholi and Ganda were unskilled, the former "porters" employed by the Ministry of Works, and the Ganda an office-messenger like Isoke. Most of the men in the benches at which Isoke sat seemed to be unskilled workers, though two men, a Lango and a Kiga, wore white shirts, ties and polished shoes.

Various good-humoured deflamatory remarks were hurled at and around these two at one point during the evening. They did not appear to be more than minimal English-speakers, and their occupations were not known. They were not "regulars" at Musoke's beer-stall.

Isoke returned home at about 10.30 p.m.

Wednesday: Isoke's wife had again spent part of the day talking to her sister who had visited her from Upper Nakawa. They had been joined for much of the afternoon by some of the wives of the immediate neighbourhood unit. It was not until Isoke came home that his wife went to Nakawa market to buy plantain, some of which was for their evening meal. Isoke stayed at home this evening, though for a part of the evening he talked to his next-door neighbour, an unmarried Acholi, who shared a house with three "brothers". Part of the conversation was about the trouble the Acholi was having with his younger "brother" (a patrilateral cross-cousin) who had regularly been visiting a Lower Kiswa prostitute (though the relationship seemed to be that of a love affair rather than one of prostitution). Isoke sympathised and agreed with the Acholi that he need be stricter with the cousin, perhaps even send him back home.

Thursday: Isoke was visited by the patrilateral cross-cousin with whom he had once lodged in Lower Nakawa. He had come to borrow some money. Isoke complained that the "brother" was still spending too much money on drinking (he said waragi, which always has a more contemptuous ring about it) and women (again, he used the equally contemptuous Swahili term, malaya). The cousin retorted that he was seriously considering "keeping" the Haya woman who was now living with him. Isoke mockingly asked if the Haya woman had yet borne him children and was ever likely to. The cousin laughed in answer and repeated his request for a loan of 5/-. Isoke handed him 2/-, with a reminder that he would expect it back at the end of the month, and the cousin left. Isoke stated that he was not accustomed to seeing much of his "brother". He said that "brothers" are likely to take advantage of a man in this way, and that a man should be firm.

Friday: Every Friday Isoke goes to the Naguru beer-bar, and sometimes to any of the Naguru dances which are being held. He does not normally meet his Ganda patron at the latter's house. This evening, however, the Ganda had told him to come straight to his house in Naguru. It did happen, significantly, that the Ganda's wife was away visiting her mother (who was divorced from her father) in Masaka District for three or four days.

Isoke stayed at the Ganda's house in the company of three of the Ganda's friends, one a Ganda workmate, one a distant Ganda relative, and the other a Teso neighbour, living three doors away. The Teso spoke reasonably good Luganda, though much of the conversation lapsed into English, which put Isoke at a disadvantage. At 8 p.m. they left the house to drink at the Naguru beer-bar. Here, Isoke was able to find a few friends of his own, though, even to them, it must have been clear that he was a marginal member of the central Ganda's cortege, and he left the beer-bar when the Ganda and his three friends dispersed at 9 p.m.

Isoke returned home to Lower Nakawa. His wife complained fairly bitterly at his coming home so late. She had heard of the Ganda patron though she had not yet met him. She had expected Isoke home earlier (though, in fact, Isoke commonly stayed out with the Ganda much later than this). Isoke agreed not to go to Naguru next day (Saturday), though up to a year or so ago he had regularly accompanied the Ganda to Bika (clans) football matches on the Saturday afternoons they were held. Nowadays, he tended to spend the time at home, or with friends in Lower Kiswa or a suburb, accompanied by his wife.

Saturday: Isoke and his wife went to Mulago, where they visited, in turn, their respective relatives. They returned to Nakawa before dark and spent the rest of the evening talking with the sister-in-law who had minded the children for them.

Sunday: Isoke's wife went to the Gospel Mission to Uganda meeting at the Nakawa community centre. She did not normally attend, though had been doing so over the past few weeks in the particular company of a Rwanda, Toro, and Ganda. Of these three, only the Ganda attended the meeting. All three live in Upper Nakawa.

Isoke stayed with the children during the morning. He stated that he himself was "officially" a member of the Bahai religious community but that he had ceased going. In the afternoon he went with his Luhya friend from Lower Nakawa to Lower Kiswa. Afterwards they spent the rest of the afternoon and early evening with a Toro whose rural home is mear Isoke's father's. This Toro is a clerk who has also been in Kampala nine years. He lives in Upper Nakawa. His wife is an Ankole. He is regarded favourably by Isoke and the Luhya for his humility and friendly disposition. The Toro had stated that he had applied to move to Naguru, so that his family, including two children, "could live in comfort". Isoke and the Luhya agreed afterwards that a friendly man like that deserved to succeed in his ambitions.

Isoke's kin network is not easy to discern from these accounts. A number of "brothers" are occasionally significant in his leisure relationships. The network is certainly loose-knit and is never mobilised over a common interest. There is no precedence of agnatic over matrilateral relations.

For Isoke we cannot discern any entity similar to Okach's pseudo-kin network. Isoke's sources of mutual aid would seem to be set in a number of relationships, including kin, non-kin, and non-fellowtribesmen, though we may assume that those most directly concerned with problems of urban subsistence will derive from kin rather than non-kin. Thus, it is to Isoke that his Lower Nakawa cousin comes to borrow money, even though they do not normally see much of each other.

We can discern two fairly distinct networks of leisure associates. One is that set at Naguru and deriving directly from his relationship with his Ganda patron. The other is set in Lower Nakawa, occasionally

Upper Nakawa, and Lower Kiswa and Mulago. The former consists mostly of socio-economic superiors and the latter of peers. Isoke gradually loosens his relationships in the former. He has been breaking his normal Saturday routine of accompanying the Ganda to football matches. Instead, he has come to participate more frequently in the network of socio-economic peers. It is in this network that his wife is easily incorporated. Nevertheless, his wife has her own additional independent network of relatives and friends which she visits more or less when she wishes. She is not expected to ask her husband's permission to make these visits in the elaborate manner of Awuor's wife.

Again, the conjugal role-relationship shows differences of connectedness according to the specific network of relations.

It is segregated with regard to Isoke's relations with his Ganda patron and the latter's Naguru colleagues.

It is intermediate with regard to relationships deriving from Lower Nakawa and Lower Kiswa, in that, as Isoke himself states, he and his wife normally go together to the beer-stalls, for instance, only over the weekend. On weekday evenings Isoke is likely to go alone. Moreover, on the Tuesday evening she did accompany him to a beer-stall in Lower Kiswa, she left for home much earlier than he did, in order to spend the rest of the evening gossiping with her sister-in-law.

The conjugal relationship is joint with regard to their respective kin, whom they often visit together. At the same time, Isoke's wife visits her own friends and relatives independently of her husband, usually for a short time during the day.

Isoke's marriage has progressed from a temporary to a permanent union which has produced two children. He has gradually loosened relations with his Ganda patron. In relinquishing the ties involved in this relationship, he is able to spend more time with his wife in common pursuits. In this way, Isoke's cessation of leisure relationships in Naguru is likely to bring about greater connectedness in his conjugal role-relationship.

Their total conjugal role-relationship is thus not segregated. Is it, then, joint or intermediate?

Neither Isoke nor his wife stress in their leisure relationships home and spouse as integral features of their urban status-images. They do not emphasise to any great extent reciprocal visiting by couples to each other's homes. It is still the beer-stalls which provide them with most of their leisure relationships, so that they do not regard each other's presence and company as any more than minimally useful in securing prestige. For these reasons their total conjugal role-relationship may be regardded as intermediate rather than joint.

Their kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships are generally not mutually determining, that is, they are no more than loosely integrated, and they are generally not located in close-knit networks. Though of very similar socio-economic status and length of urban residence, Isoke and Awuor differ very clearly in the integrations of these relationships.

The Toro clerk living in Upper Nakawa, whom Isoke and his Luhya friend visited on the Sunday, has most of his leisure relationships located in Upper Nakawa and Naguru. But, unlike Isoke, his network of these relationships does not depend on his relationship with a single

higher status friend or patron, since it consists of socio-economic peers. Moreover, the Toro's wife, an Ankole, is not excluded from participation in it.

In contrast, again, to Isoke, the Toro clerk and his wife do emphasise the reciprocal visiting of couples to each other's homes. Home and spouse are thus integral features of their urban status-images. These features are additional to those of attendance at cinemas, "club" dances, and "European" bottle-beer bars at Naguru, Upper Kiswa, and elsewhere in Kampala. As a logical supplement to this status-sequence the Toro clerk decided to move to Naguru.

Having already presented many descriptive data, I shall, at this stage, do no more than summarise the features of the kinship, conjugal, and leisure relationships in which this Toro clerk whose name is Balengwa, is involved.

g) Case 4: Centralised Tribesman Exhibiting more Highly Integrated Conjugal and Leisure Relationships, which are only Loosely Integrated with those of Kinship.

Some months after Isoke visited him, Balengwa did move to a 52/- house at Naguru.

Most of his friends already lived at Naguru, while he was still at Nakawa. These friends, who were his socio-economic peers, had acted as a reference network for him. In their recreational activities, and in their emphasis on a joint conjugal role-relationship, they had influenced him into taking a further step into their ranks by moving to Naguru.

Balengwa, like Isoke, but unlike Okach, was not troubled in making this movement by onerous kinship obligations. He had already

selected the kinsmen with whom he was likely to want to interact regularly while he was still at Upper Nakawa, during what was in effect an initial period of anticipatory socialization into the Naguru reference network.

He was praised by Isoke and his Luhya friend for his humility towards them. It was mutually recognised that he was of superior socio-economic status. In many respects his networks of social relations resembled those of Okach, with one important exception.

This is the pseudo-kin network into which Okach moved. This pseudo-kin network was founded on a protest. The protest was made by Luo, only a few of whom were related, against the heavy demands of the ideal role summation of kinsman/tribesman. The mutual aid characterising the network was aimed at establishing the home as a central feature of a family's urban status-image. This implied the achievement of individual and family autonomy, conditions which rebel against the demands of membership in corporate groups of kin and clansmen. Okach's pseudo-kin network could be distinguished analytically from his leisure network of socio-economic peers, though, actively, they overlapped. The latter network was multi-tribal in composition and was not founded on the above protest, though it,too, was concerned to stress individual and family autonomy.

It is the latter of Okach's networks which most closely resembles Balengwa's leisure network of socio-economic peers. Kin and fellow-tribesmen are included in the network but they are not analytically distinguishable from other members. Close kin, especially those directly deriving from Balengwa's parents' nuclear families might expect to receive preferential treatment with regard to aid but the

degree of expectation is nowhere near as strong as for Okach's close kin. Balengwa's fellowtribesmen would not expect preferential treatment. The institution of patron-client relationships may cut across tribal boundaries and provide an ethos which militates against preferential treatment to fellowtribesmen when more profitable ties are available with non-fellowtribesmen.

Balengwa names eight special friends, five of whom live at Naguru. Two still live in Upper Nakawa. They both state their intentions of moving to Naguru. One lives at Ntinda and, in fact, is a distant matrilateral relative. He is the only kinsman in this network of "special friends". His rural home is near Balengwa's father's. Two others, both Toro, stem from Balengwa's rural home area and live within a few miles of his father's home. One lives in Upper Nakawa and the other at Naguru. There is one more Toro in the network. He lives at Naguru.

I shortly describe each of these network members in more detail. Firstly, I explain what Balengwa means by "special friends", and under what conditions I obtained information about them.

I had closely observed, and to some extent participated in, Balangwa's recreational activities over a sustained period of seven weeks.

The number of visits Balengwa paid to five households of close kin was seven, which includes two visits each to a household of his wife's relatives in Lower Nakawa and to the household of his half-brother (by his father's second wife) in Lower Kiswa. The latter is unmarried. These four visits were made casually, and involved no more than an hour and a half each and occupied only two evenings.

Two visits were made to Mulago on the same Sunday afternoon. From 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on that day the time was spent in the company of Balengwa's wife's sister and her husband. The latter works as a nurse-orderly at Mulago hospital. From about 5 p.m. till 9 p.m. the time was spent with Balengwa's patrilateral cross-cousin and his wife. This cousin works as a domestic steward (houseboy) for a European. Balengwa was accompanied by his wife on these two visits. One other visit was made to a matrilateral parallel cousin's son living in the suburb of Kibuye. On this occasion Balengwa went straight from his office in Kampala. He was not accompanied by his wife. He stayed two hours until 6.30 p.m. and then returned to his house at Naguru.

These visits were clearly recreational. The fact that the partners to the relationships were kinsmen was relevant only in so far as it indicated established, pre-existing ties. But there were no specific instrumental aspects of the relationships as there were for Awuor, and as there were thought to be for Okach.

Balwngwa distinguished clearly these visits and ties from those of his "special friends". With regard to the former he probably felt some obligations of kinship and affinity, but these were not stressed and, unlike Okach, were not regarded as conflicting with any obligation to his "special friends". Balengwa used the English terms "relatives" and "people from home" to describe these close kinsmen whom he visited.

The number of visits to "special friends" were more frequent, and more time was spent in their company. This included joint outings to "clubs" and bars, though most visits were made by Balengwa and his wife to another couple's home. Including joint outings to public

places of recreation, sometimes in the company of more than one couple, I observed or recorded thirteen visits. This is nearly twice the number paid to close kin. These thirteen visits were relatively formal in so far as Balengwa was accompanied by his wife, who, like her husband, considered it necessary to be specially dressed for the occasions. Most of the visits to close kin were relatively casual and informal, and did not in all cases require special dress nor that Balengwa be accompanied by his wife.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of these relationships is that Balengwa himself distinguishes "special friends", as he calls them, from those of his close kin with whom he interacts but who fall outside the Naguru network.

This distinction may be viewed objectively by illustrating certain status characteristics of members of each network. I have already briefly described the different typical recreational activities in which persons of each network are likely to be involved.

TABLE X (a): Balengwa's "close kin" network

Relation to B. of h/hold head	Occupation	Residence	Wife's tribe if married	Whether wife regarded as "Temporary" or "permanent"	wife' educat
1.wife's mat. relative (Ankole)	mechanic	Lower Nakawa	Ganda	temporary	4 yrs
2.half-brother	porter	Lower Kiswa	-	-	-
3.wife's sister's husband (Ankole)	nurse orderly (husb.)	Mulago	Toro	permanent	2 yrs
4.pat.cross-cousin	domestic steward	Mulago	Kiga	permanent	6 yrs
5.mat.parallel cousin	baker	Kibuye	-	-	-

TABLE X (b): Balengwa's network of "special friends"

	Tribe	Relation to B. of household head	Occupation	Residence	Wife's tribe if married	Whether wife "temporary" or "permanent"	wife's educatio
1	Ganda	workmate	clerk	Naguru	Toro	temporary	4 years
2	Ankole	wives are friends	post office engineer	Naguru	Ankole	permanent	6 years
3	Acholi	workmate	civil servant	Naguru	Acholi	permanent	4 years
4	Toro	wives are schoolfriends	clerk	Naguru	Toro	permanent	8 years
5	Toro	"fellow villager"	laboratory trainee	Naguru	Ganda	permanent	8 years
6	Toro	"fellow villager"	clerk	Upper Nakawa	Haya	temporary	3 years
7	Luo	neighbour of long standing	storekeeper	Upper Nakawa	Luo	permanent	2 years
8	Toro	distant mat. relative	trainee accountant	Ntinda	Ganda	permanent	12 years

The first obvious distinction between the two networks is that Balengwa's "special friends" are quite clearly more his socio-economic peers than those distinguished as members of his network of close kin. This socio-economic distinction refers particularly to differences in occupation and residence. It also suggests that the level of education among wives of Balengwa's "special friends" is likely to be higher.

But there are individual characteristics common to both networks. Tribally mixed marriages occur in both networks. Wives of members of either network are regarded as temporary and permanent. Finally, there are in both networks links which originally stem from Balengwa's wife.

These features would seem to derive from the relatively independent status assumed by wives among centralised tribesmen, and the related factor of a more fluid set of marriage regulations. The two Luo and Acholi "special friends" have permanent wives of their own tribes, and these particular features do not apply to them. On the other hand, since they have been named by Balengwa as "special friends", it may be assumed that they share with him and other members of the network the values of reciprocal visiting by couples in each other's homes, and of a relatively joint conjugal role-relationship. As segmentary tribesmen of this particular type, they may be compared with Okach.

It is because of her relatively independent status, and also because of the relatively fluid marriage regulations among centralised tribespeople, that Isoke's wife was able to claim partial incorporation into her husband's leisure network of socio-economic peers, set especiall in Lower Nakawa and Kiswa, and so to constitute an intermediate conjugal role-relationship.

Balengwa's socio-economic status is higher than Isoke's, and his wife has become even more successfully integrated into his leisure relationships. She is an Ankole, but she went to school in Toro district, and, in other ways, has assumed Toro values. It is not difficult, anyway, for the linguistically and, to some extent, culturally related Ankole to do this.

Balengwa's close kin and "special friends" networks are relatively loose-knit. Of the former only 1 and 3, both relatives of Balengwa's wife, know each other. In the "special friends" network, 1, 3, 5 and 6 know each other sufficiently well to be on visiting terms, though,

almost by virtue of common or near residence, all members of the network, with the exception of the Ntinda resident, are on nodding acquaintance with each other. Comparing the two, the "special friends" network might seem to be more close-knit than the network of close kin. This is hardly surprising since, unlike the two Luo discussed, the kin network tends to be bilateral and there are no common interests around which it is even potentially likely to be mobilised.

What is particularly significant about the "special friends" network is its prime importance for both Balengwa and his wife in their leisure relationships. I did not ask Balengwa's wife who her special friends were. This question, following on the same question to her husband, might have prejudiced her into feeling obliged to name her husband's friends. Instead, I observed the visits she made independent of her husband. These were very few and were made during the day while her husband was at work. They involved neighbours and were never more than casual, occupying very little time. It was clear that the eight "special friends" whom Balengwa considered important were important to her too. It was only on visits to these friends that she assumed formal dress, though there was no evidence that she felt obliged or was under compulsion by her husband to do so.

The inevitable conclusion is that both Balengwa and his wife saw the avenue to more prestigeful leisure associates and activities as resting on their joint participation in the special friends network. This, of course, necessitated a wholly joint conjugal role-relationship. It would have been both superfluous and time-consuming for Balengwa's wife to have insisted on maintaining to any formalised extent her own independent leisure relationships.

h) Summary of Cases 3 and 4

The stressing of a wholly joint conjugal role-relationship derives from an emphasis on family autonomy, which is especially seen in the frequent reciprocal visiting by Balengwa and his wife to the home of each other couple in the special friends network. Home and spouse are thus regarded as integral to their urban status-images. This conception is shared by all members of the network, including the Luo and Acholi. This conception, it will be remembered, was also shared by Okach, the Naguru Luo.

The wife of Isoke, the Lower Nakawa Toro, did maintain her own set of friends, including some relatives, independently of her husband. At the same time she made her claim for equality of conjugal status and insisted on being brought partially into her husband's leisure network of socio-economic peers. Their conjugal role-relationship, while it was not segregated, needed to be no more than intermediate to accommodate the demands and requirements of each spouse. It follows that their intermediate conjugal role-relationship did not need to function in the context of reciprocal visiting by couples to each other's homes. It did not, in other words, emphasise family autonomy, but would operate at the beer-stalls of Lower Kiswa, or in the suburbs.

The fact that some of Isoke's wife's leisure relationships were incorporated into his own while others were maintained independently by her, together with the other related factors given above, meant that his conjugal and leisure relationships were no more than loosely integrated or mutually determining.

Balengwa and his wife saw importance in maintaining the same special leisure relationships together. Thus, for Balengwa, his conjugal and leisure relationships are perforce highly connected.

For both Balengwa and Isoke, however, their conjugal and leisure relationships are only loosely integrated with or determined by those of kinship. Casual non-marital sexual unions among their kin and fellowtribesmen are not condemned. Nor are tribally mixed marriages. Among segmentary tribesmen, both these features of conjugal and quasi-conjugal relationships are condemned by kin and fellowtribesmen.

i) General Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to test stage four of my ideal paradigm of assumptions.

This is that, among migrants of a segmentary tribe, the intercalary function of the urban local order in a leadership status-sequence indica the order's intercalary function in non-leadership status-sequences.

Among centralised tribesmen the local order does not have this intercalary function.

I have considered non-leadership status-sequences in the context of social mobility with special regard to leisure relationships.

The systems of stratification with which I have been concerned are partly reflected in the existence of formal voluntary associations and the sub-groups they represent. Two such systems may be discerned: one for segmentary and the other for centralised tribesmen. The former have theirs almost exclusively set in town, hence the need for the establishment of a hierarchy of urban tribal associations to

accommodate the conflicting existence of segmentary groups which, in the rural areas, are theoretically egalitarian. The latter have theirs partly set in rural kingdoms in which horizontal divisions according to access to land provide a ready-made tribal system of stratification. However, common to both segmentary and centralised tribesmen in town is the existence of locality and civic/political associations. Common to both, also, is the existence of ranked sub-groups and categories represented by these associations.

The significance of all these is that urban segmentary tribesmen are members of regular tribal and local groups. Urban migrants of centralised tribes are also members of regular local groups, but their tribal groups are irregularly defined and rarely corporate.

Membership in urban local groups teaches both segmentary and centralised tribesmen to assess role behaviour according to non-tribal, socio-economic criteria, in addition to more familiar tribal criteria. Movements to more highly ranked local groups by segmentary tribesmen are regarded by fellowtribesmen as defections from one or more copporate kin or tribal groups. The absence of such latter groups among centralised tribesmen precludes movements to more highly ranked local groups being interpreted in this way.

While they may be condemned, these movements by segmentary tribesmen do bring them into direct contact with higher status activitie and associates. Moreover, in practice, the movements enable them to establish a greater number of relationships of their own choosing and to lessen the density and frequency of former more ascribed kin and tribal ties. This partial replacement of ties involves the incumbent

in conflicts of role-expectation. Eventually, after the residential movement has been made and the new ties forged, these conflicts are reduced in their intensity but they are not eliminated. The incumbent must continue to manipulate conflicting expectations of role-behaviour carefully in order to avoid upsurges of open conflict.

The residential movements by centralised tribesmen are not condemned by their respective fellowtribesmen. Indeed, they are encouraged. New ties may replace old ones without evoking disapproval. The institution of patron-client relationships, among other factors, militates against disapproval.

Changing membership of lower for higher status-groups is, in reality, not as sudden as the residential movement, which merely symbolises the rise in status. Beforehand, the individual status-aspirant will have attempted to forge new relationships with members of more highly evaluated status-groups. Full acceptance into these relationships usually anticipates the general rise in status, including the residential movement. Marginal or non-acceptance precludes or inhibits this rise.

At any stage of his status-sequence, the socially mobile migrant is really at the centre of a number of distinct, though sometimes overlapping networks. The various group norms merely give content to the relationships within these networks. Where group and network largely coincide, pressures on individual behaviour are particularly strong. Where networks are loose-knit, these pressures are necessarily weak or largely non-existent. It would follow that the upward socially mobile migrant who desires more individual choice of role behaviour

and partners will establish more of his relationships within relatively loose-knit networks.

In following status-sequences, I have considered leisure relationships in conjunction with kin and conjugal relationships.

On the evidence of four cases, I have traced changes in the integration of these three relationships.

For segmentary tribesmen far-reaching changes in leisure networks of socio-economic peers are accompanied by equally far-reaching changes in networks of kin. These changes are accompanied by partial, but not total, redefinition of the conjugal role-relationship. The conjugal role-relationship becomes even more important in the definition of leisure relationships, while becoming less dependent in its content upon kin relationships. However, it still remains dependent on kin relationships to a noticeably significant extent.

For centralised tribesmen, far-reaching changes in leisure networks of socio-economic peers are not accompanied by equally far-reaching changes in networks of kin. The latter remain, as they were originally largely independent of the former. But the far-reaching changes in leisure networks of socio-economic peers do bring about a redefinition of the conjugal role-relationship, rather in the manner of the changes experienced by higher status segmentary tribesmen. Conjugal and leisure relationships become somewhat highly integrated.

I can illustrate the concomitant changes in interrelatedness in the three relationships by simple symbolic notation.[1] "K", "C", "L",

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[1] This is not, of course, intended in imitation or parody of Nadel's elaborate system of notation taken from mathematics and symbolic logic. v. S.F. Nadel, 1957, The Social Structure, Cohen & West.

are taken to signify kinship, conjugal and leisure relationships respectively. "$\underline{\quad}$", as in $\frac{K}{C}$, signifies "loosely integrated". "$\longleftrightarrow$", as in K $\longleftrightarrow$ C, signifies "highly integrated". "$\leftarrow\!\!+\!\!\rightarrow$" signifies "integrated to a lesser though still significant degree". A bracket around two or three relatiomships indicates that, together, they are determined equally, whether this be strongly or weakly, by a relationship standing outside the bracket, or, in the absence of the latter, that they are all highly integrated.

Thus, the status-sequence for segmentary tribesmen may move from the role-set occupied by Awuor in Lower Nakawa and symbolised as:

$$(K \longleftrightarrow C \longleftrightarrow L)$$

to the role-set occupied by Okach at Naguru, symbolised as:

$$K \leftarrow\!\!+\!\!\rightarrow (C \longleftrightarrow L)$$

In contrast, the status-sequence for centralised tribesmen may move from the role-set occupied by Isoke in Lower Nakawa, symbolised as:

$$\frac{\frac{K}{C}}{L}$$

to the role-set occupied by Balengwa at Naguru, symbolised as:

$$\frac{C \longleftrightarrow L}{K}$$

The initial role-sets of segmentary and centralised tribesmen differ in every respect. The later, higher status role-sets have a common factor. This is C $\longleftrightarrow$ L.

Thus, though succesfully socially mobile segmentary and centralised tribesmen may still be distinguished by the respective differences of kinship obligations, they share an inclination to integrate conjugal and leisure relationships. This integration necessitates a joint conjugal role-relationship.

Segmentary and centralised tribesmen may continue to be regarded as subscribing to distinct systems of social stratification, though, in their upper strata, the distinction is partially replaced by similarity.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

a) Summary of the Argument

I firstly described the city ward of Kampala East. Various social and ecological features mark it off from the rest of the city and from Greater Kampala as a whole. Persons resident in the ward may be regarded as more committed to urban life than most migrants. Such commitment includes participation in urban systems of social stratification and mobility. My study is based on the people of Nakawa and Naguru, two public housing estates in Kampala East.

I suggested that the urban migrants of Kampala East may be said to be involved in three broad and overlapping orders of relationships. I distinguished these orders as tribal, local and civic. Thus, any relationship between a person and another person, between a person and a group, or between two groups may be said to fall into one order more than another. I further suggested that it is affiliations and relationships of the civic order which tend to influence, modify or alter affiliations and relationships of what I have called the two primary orders.

The tribal order is significant for the individual migrant in the existence of his own tribe and of his membership in it. Though recognising the individual identities of respective tribespeople in Kampala, I considered in particular the wider distinction into two super-tribal categories of centralised and segmentary tribesmen. Among the latter, the urban tribal order tends to be made up of regular,

corporate groups which may become represented by formal voluntary associations. Among the former no such groups are in evidence and there are no formal voluntary associations.

The local order is immediately significant for the urban migrant in the existence of ranked residential communities, or localities as I have called them. A hierarchy of such localities exists. This hierarchy influences the ranking of primary and secondary local groups. On the housing estates studied, the ranking of residence within these groups is particularly influenced by the fact that houses are allocated generally according to applicants' economic status. Tribal membership is irrelevant in so far as it is not the policy of the housing authorities to encourage the residential clustering of members of the same tribe. A result of these facts is that individual status differentiation is often a more significant criterion of role performanc and assessment than individual tribal membership. It is often through wives that men are difectly involved in neighbourhood and locality prestige and status competition. The conjugal role-relationship is thus immediately affected by the local order.

The tribal order may also be regarded as partly internally ranked. For centralised tribesmen this ranking or system of stratification is rural and based on more or less de facto freehold land tenure. Though it is rural, the system provides urban migrants with aspirations which can be pursued in conjunction with urban employment. Segmentary tribesmen have as yet no widespread rural systems of de facto freehold land tenure. It is as urban migrants that they get their first experience of any clearly delineated system of social stratification.

The ranked forms the tribal associations of some of them take seem to have arisen in response to a need for the formal, or symbolic, expression of the inevitable socio-economic differentiation of fellow-tribesmen in town. Among centralised tribesmen the general absence of any urban tribal associations, let alone any ranking of them, seems to suggest that there is not a need to express symbolically the socio-economic differentiation of fellowtribesmen in town. By accommodating urban systems of ranking, the traditional systems of such people may be said to fulfil this need.

The civic order is especially significant in this study in the distinctions between the various occupational categories. Much of the behaviour in the tribal and local orders which is based on socio-economi differences derives more or less directly from differences of occupational standing among people.

It is at the level of group analysis that the concepts of tribal and local order continue to have relevance. And at the level of categorical analysis, the concept of civic order continues to be useful.

Thus, the representation of groups and categories by formal urban voluntary associations determines the patterns of leadership process.

For segmentary tribesmen we may speak of an ideal leadership status-sequence which exhibits the successive playing of leadership roles in tribal, locality and civic/political associations, whereas, for centralised tribesmen, this sequence omits tribal and begins in locality associations. Moreover, for segmentary tribesmen, locality associations seem to have a special significance for their leadership

status-sequences by linking, in a gradual and intercalary manner, possibly conflicting tribal and non-tribal expectations of behaviour.

For centralised tribesmen there is not this same significance. Since, to some extent, these formal associations represent groups or categories, and since the latter are stratified in some way, I then suggested that there are similarities between leadership and ordinary non-leadership status-sequences in the successive roles, expectations and conflicts experienced in them by persons who are socially mobile.

To explore this suggestion, I found it useful to consider in detail some respective differences in patterns of role-expectation between segmentary and centralised tribesmen. At this level of role-analysis the concepts of tribal, local, and civic order cease to be either relevant or useful. More useful concepts are those of role-set, role-relationship, and ego-centred network. These concepts do not invalidate the idea of roles being played within or with reference to groups. But, in addition, they may be used to consider the interrelatedness and mutual determinancy of certain relationships entered into by an ego. Since this level of analysis emphasises the relationship existing and roles played in virtue of an ego, the concept of network is often a more precise tool than that of group. On the other hand, group and network are not mutually exclusive concepts. Generally, they are analytically distinct in so far as the persons comprised within the relationships of any given ego's network may be drawn from a variety of groups, but, very occasionally, group and network may largely coincide, as in the case of the immediate kin group and network of a segmentary tribesman of low socio-economic status.

I related my approach of role-analysis to my general problem of social stratification and mobility by focusing attention on leisure or recreational relationships. I regarded changes in these relationshi as inevitable reflections of any system of social stratification. I considered leisure relationships in conjunction with kin and conjugal relationships. I considered all three as moving together in a general status-sequence. The status-sequence is that based on the movements from lower to higher status localities. My specific problem was to understand whether the facts of residence, that is, the local order, had the same intercalary function for these status-sequences among segmentary tribesmen as for those of leadership. The corollary was to understand whether there was a parallel absence of this intercalary function among centralised tribesmen for non-leadership as well as leadership status-sequences.

After investigating four case studies, I suggested that, in Kampala East, segmentary tribesmen of low socio-economic status tend to be involved in mutually determining kin, conjugal and leisure relationships They tend, also, to live in Lower Nakawa or a locality of similar residential status and do not move up from there. A wife's independent network of relationships are limited to her own kin and a few neighbours and local friends. A wife is expected to share her husband's network of relationships with his own kin but is largely excluded from his network of purely leisure relationships comprising socio-economic peers of all tribes.

A segmentary tribesman of higher socio-economic status may move progressively from Lower to Upper Nakawa or to Naguru. Accompanying this progressive physical movement is a gradual integration of wife

into husband's leisure network of socio-economic peers. A close-knit network of real kin is gradually partially replaced by a network of fellowtribesmen, some of whom may be kin, whose common bond is a desire for greater freedom from the obligations expected of their individual, conjugal and family statuses by close kin. But, though lessened, these obligations to close kin are not completely thrown off.

Centralised tribesmen of low economic status are generally not subject to mutually determining kin, conjugal and leisure relationships. Husband and wife each maintains independent networks of kin and non-kin. According to the values of the institution of patron-client relationship the husband is not answerable to kin for the time, energy, and money he may spend in the company of socio-economically superior non-kin and non-fellowtribesmen, some of whom inevitably live in localities of higher status than his own. But, for those of his leisure relationship among socio-economic peers, he is answerable to his wife, who expects to be brought into these relationships, though she does not feel obliged to relinquish her own nor bring her husband into them.

A centralised tribesman of higher socio-economic status is distinguished in his social networks from his lower socio-economic counterpart by the stress which is laid by both husband and wife on joint participation in common networks. There continues to be no conflict of expectations by kin and non-kin socio-economic peers. But conjugal and leisure relationships do assume a degree of mutual determinancy. It is in this latter respect that both segmentary and centralised tribesmen of high socio-economic status most nearly approach subscription to common norms of urban upper strata.

b) Some Implications of the Argument

Ideally, an intensive study of an African town might take into account the differences obtaining between every individual tribespeople composing the familiar urban heterogeneity. On practical grounds this approach is difficult. On other grounds, too, it may become unjustified. There is the danger of overstressing the situation and neglecting the fact that there are urban institutions and relationships which are external to those of any single tribe, but which may assume major significance in certain fields of activity.

Epstein makes this point. He acknowledges that, for certain areas of analysis, concentrating attention on one or more individual tribespeople is both justified and legitimate. But he indicates that where, as an example, "the range of enquiry.....is limited to the development of political groups and institutions amongst urban Africans, ...the urban community cannot be regarded as being made up of a number of independent ethnic communities".[1] This would seem to parallel my own general finding of Chapter VI, that differences directly derived from tribal cultures, as in the distinction between segmentary and centralised societies, are not especially significant in the wider scale context of political and trade union organisation, that is, in the civic order. My study was not, of course, any more than marginally concerned with these aspects of urban organisation. It was more concerned with the patterns of interpersonal relationship between kin, families, neighbours, friends and other associates. But the basic

[1] A.L. Epstein, 1964, Urban Communities in Africa, in Closed Systems and Open Minds, ed. M.Gluckman and E.Devons, M.U.P.

point still holds. External factors still operate, either to reduce the social and cultural distances between persons of different tribes, or to modify an urban tribespeople's internal relationships.

This obtrusion of external on internal relationships is particularly noticeable on an urban public housing estate. Again, in two separate articles, Epstein illustrates the crucial significance that the physical and administrative features of an urban residential area may have for its populations.[1] I have elaborated the implications of such significance in this thesis.

How does this obtrusion of external on internal relationships affect our view of urban "adaptation" by migrants? We may assume that those most "adapted" to urban life are those who have been in town longest, and who have the largest economic and social stakes there. Such stakes are especially evident in the development of urban status systems. Though it is not suggested that all such migrants are constantly struggling for higher status, a large proportion of them will at least be aware of their respective positions in some system of ranking in the town. The persistence of internal relationships among some tribespeople in the town in the face of the oppressive and conflicting external relationships establishes one system of ranking. This system differs from that of tribespeople whose internal relationshi interlock fairly easily with the urban external relationships. Thus, for Kampala East, it is inaccurate to speak of a single system of social stratification. There is one each for segmentary and centralise tribesmen.

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[1] A.L. Epstein, 1961 and 1964. op. cit.

But these two systems are not mutually exclusive. External factors are common to both. Relationships become moulded not to an identical pattern, but at least to a similar one. This development especially applies to those migrants who are the most equipped to be immediately involved in urban stratification. These migrants are those of the higher socio-economic categories and of longer than average urban residence. We may thus envisage two systems of stratification, each a fusion of traditional and urban patterns of relationships. At the top, more prestigeful part of the systems, partial convergence occurs. It is probably a justifiable assumption that with more and more migrants staying longer in town this partial convergence will filter down the two systems. But the extent to which there will ever be total convergence probably depends on changes and development to a uniform pattern ultimately throughout the whole of East Africa's rural tribal areas, and on the development of urban-born generations.

But even the development to total convergence, if ever it came about, would probably be accompanied by the development of a complex plurality of urban-centred prestige hierarchies. It is commonly acknowledged that modern, primarily industrial communities, as well as some other complex societies, can be regarded as having possibly independent hierarchies of occupation, education, religion, and sheer wealth.[1] In most situations, two or more of these hierarchies are interrelated, but in some they are not.

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[1] Familiar examples are the relatively high prestige enjoyed in Britain, for instance, by scholars, teachers, or by clergy, though none of these are necessarily well paid. In Hindu society, the prestige of Brahmins has ritual rather than economic sources.

I suggest that this development of potentially independent prestige hierarchies has not yet come to Kampala East. Kampala East is not yet sufficiently established a "community". Persons do evaluate one another according to differences of education, income, and even religion, but not within a reasonably regularly and universally recognised system. This is not the case with regard to differences of occupation. As Merran Fraenkel says for Monrovia, in Sierra Leone, "....the established scale of occupational prestige.....follows the government hierarchy.[1] Virtually every householder in Kampala East has a job. Virtually all jobs are directly or indirectly controlled by government as to their positions on a scale of reward and prestige. Thus, in situations in which relationships are still being rapidly modified, and in which persons themselves are still rapidly socially and physically mobile, the occupational prestige hierarchy provides a stable and relatively unchanging system of graded behavioural referents. It is the relative stability of this single prestige hierarchy which at once distinguishes developing urban communities in Affica from the longer established urban communities of more developed industrial nations and other complex societies, which may have a number of relatively stable hierarchies.

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[1] Merran Fraenkel, 1964, op.cit, p.214.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

LUO UNION GENERAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS, MAY, 1963

In the following description of the Luo Union "annual" general elections, voters' affiliations of location[1] and wider tribal area become apparent. So, too, do some of the properties of tribal association leadership.

The general meeting was arranged rather hastily. Some Western Luo, comprising members of Gem, Ugenya and Alego locations, had complained that the Luo Union team which plays in the Kampala and district football league was suffering too many defeats. Members of these locations are the most numerous in Kampala. They suggested that a reason for the Union team's defeat was the small number of Western Luoland players in the team. They suggested, too, that the union as a whole had become inactive. They proposed that this general lethargy might be further related to the fact that the then members of the Union's and Sports Club's executive committees were from East and South Luoland.

Easterners and Southerners argued that Westerners had never bothere to attend meetings and never made the effort to get their own people elected into office. The Westerners replied that they were not asking for a change of all officers but only for the replacement of the chairman. The chairman, Kowidi Omolo, however, stated that in view of the complaints and suspicions of nepotism, it would be better to have a new regime, and accordingly called a meeting for the election of all officers. The chairman had held almost uninterrupted office since 1950, not long after the Union was established. Now, he said, he was tired of the complaints made about him and wished to retire. Someone commented that recently his power had dwindled because the Westerners had relentlessly opposed him.

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[1] Throughout this thesis I have referred to Luo locations as subtribes, having regarded them as largely comparable to the Luhya subtribes. In the present detailed description of a Luo Union annual election of officers, it seems appropriate to return to the true designation of these units.

The meeting was held on the piece of spare land outside Naguru Community Centre. About 500 people were in attendance. A few of them were from other tribes. Since the meeting was to be held in DhoLuo, they would not be able to understand proceedings. A number of notables were there, including Philip Ahoma from Nairobi, then the Kenya Independence celebrations officer, who had a short while before been working in Kampala. Ker (a Luo of high rank) had come to represent the Kisumu chairman of the wide-scale Luo Union, East Africa.

The introductory speakers were Opio Okech, the acting secretary, a trader with a shop at Nakawa estate, and Martin Awuor, an executive engineer in the Ministry of Works, Kampala, and a teacher at the Kampala Technical Institute, who was the previous secretary of the Union

Okech gave a progress report of the Union since the last elections in 1961. There were frequent interruptions from the audience as to how the Union's money had been spent. He brushed aside their questions and called upon Ker to speak. As Ker stood up, an abu (like a trumpet, and made from a large gourd and attached to bamboo) was sounded. People were very impressed by this and waited expectantly for Ker to speak. Ker was dressed in European clothes but "with a hat like Oginga Odinga's", and with a fly whisk. He greeted the people and called upon the departing chairman, Kowidi, to speak.

The chairman gave his swansong. Not long after the Luo Union was started in Kampala in 1947, he was its chairman. He was elected out of office a year later. His successor found the job a difficult one and Kowidi was called to serve again within a year. He said that he had made the Union strong and effective in those days, but now he felt weak and unable to lead it well. He said he had always been anxious to protect Luo in Kampala from discrimination and intimidation by the people of Uganda. He explained that the kings of Nyoro and Toro were "both Luo", and that the Kabaka of Buganda was related to them, and that in view of this there was no reason for Luo to feel they were foreigners. A retracing of Luo history revealed that they came from South Sudan, through north, east, south and west Uganda, to Nyanaa Province in Kenya, and that, throughout this path, people were basically one. He emphasised that this gave Luo the moral right to live anywhere in Uganda. In order to show his good faith in the fact

that the people of Uganda and the Luo of Kenya had common affinities, he had invited Dr. Milton Obote for the Uganda Independence celebration at Naguru Hall in October 1962, "as he was a Nilotic". He had wanted to urge the Uganda premier not to forget the Luo, as they had done a lot in achieving Uganda's independence and as they, too, were Nilotes. Unfortunately, he said, the visit had been unable to take place.

The outgoing chairman finished his speech by putting forward some proposals he had had in mind concerning the buying of taxis or a bus in the name of the Union for repatriating the bodies of persons who had died in Kampala, for social visits home, and for fulfilling soccer teams' travelling obligations. Clans and locations, he claimed, were wasting money in having to hire "these Ganda vehicles". He hoped that now that he was retiring, these proposals would still command attention.

Further discussion centred on the question of why the Union had in fact become weaker. The chairman was eventually called upon to speak again and he suggested that the Union had lost its influence during the Kampala municipal council elections of September 1962, when three high status Luo, one the previous secretary of the Union present at the meeting, had fought against each other for the council seats. The previous secretary had neglected his work for the Union in his municipal council campaign and each Luo candidate, in stressing the contradictory policies of opposing political parties, had divided Luo against Luo, so that both the administration of the Union and the solidarity of Luo in Kampala had suffered. Furthermore, he claimed that at this time ordinary Luo themselves lost interest in the Union and continued to devote all their time, energy and money to clan and location associations.

Each of the other notables spoke again, urging the people to vote not according to a man's clan or location but according to his value, past and future, to the Union. Ker noted that very few present had paid their subscriptions and asked whether the votes of the majority might not be invalid, since according to the constitution, only paid-up members were entitled to vote. This suggestion was hotly contested

amid a shower of light abuse at Ker, and it was agreed that all Luo present should vote, as was the perennial practice. Nominations for offices, starting with that of chairman, were then invited.

At this point, the grouping and affiliations of voters according to location and wider tribal area should be indicated. The wider tribal areas are West, East and South, and the locations constituting them are referred to by name. It must be remembered that there were more members of the western locations, particularly Ugenya, Gem and Alego, in Kampala and at the meeting than of other locations.

West	East	South
Ugenya	East Kano	Karachuonyo
Gem	West Kano	East Nyokal
Alego	Kisumo	West Nyokal
Sakwa	Nyakach	Kamunga
Asembo		Kadeni
Seme		Kamagambo
Imbo		Kindu et al.
Uyoma		

Nominees for the post of Chairman (Jakom) and Vice-chairman (Jalup Jakom) in order of nomination:

1) Anyango (Gem)
2) Oswago (Uyoma)
3) Odiwuor (Ugenya)
4) Adero (Alego)

1) ANYANGO is a muluka chief appointed by the Kabaka's government for the Kampala suburb of Nysmwongo, where a large proportion of Luo reside. He owns and lets some houses at Kiswa temporary housing area, and owns a club in his own village of Nyamwongo. He has "many wives". He is greatly respected for his position as chief and for the fact that he represents the "foreigners", mainly Luo, in his area. He is 45 and has been over 20 years in Kampala. Before becoming a muluka chief, he was a trader. He speaks no English but good Swahili and some Luganda. He is now a rich man "mainly through bribes" (i.e. gifts or tribute not interpreted as such by Luo). It is said that he has already built a permanent house at his home in Luoland.

2) OSWAGO is a storekeeper in a private firm and earns about 350/-. He has eight years of education and speaks English well. He is 38 years old and first came to Kampala in 1950, joining his present firm in 1951. He began then as a store's messenger and went to evening school to learn accounts and bookkeeping and so secured promotion. In 1952 he was elected to the post of Luo Union secretary, in which he worked hard and helped extend the Union's influence. He it was who eventually instigated the Union's sporting activities and so brought the location associations together under the Union. He has continued to support the Union as an active member.[1] He is married with five children and lives in a 39/- house at Naguru. He keeps his wife at home in Kenya "so that she may dig", and he is recognised as a Luo who refuses to neglect his land whereas others in town do. His children are also kept at home so that they may undergo their schooling there.

3) ODIWUOR also has eight years of education, works as a clerk and is referred to as an "educated man". He is extremely popular with people of his own location (Ugenya) and is well known by most Luo. He wears expensive clothes and has a forceful personality. In this particular election, he was never cat-called by members of the crowd, though others, even successful nominees, were. He is a "young man" of 30, is married with 3 children, and has been 5 years in Kampala, having previously worked in Nairobi. He lives at Naguru with his family in a 52/- house.

4) ADERO has four years of education, does not speak English and is a mechanic of experience rather than training. He also owns a shop at Nyamwongo, where he lives. He is well known by members of his own location, Alego, and has been actively concerned with the sporting affairs of the Luo Union for some time. He is 35, and married with six children, has been in Kampala since 1949, joining the Union when it was first established.

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[1] The Luo Union Sports Club is a sub-committee of the Luo Union proper and has separately held annual elections of executive committee office However, it defers in nominal allegiance and subordination to the U ni

At these nominations for the office of chairman, Easterners and Southerners shouted and claimed that the fact that three of the four nominees were Westerners, and of the most closely allied locations at that, proved that the people of Ugenya, Alego and Gem had prepared their nominations before the meeting and had campaigned for them. They claimed that they themselves had been given too short a notice of the elections to consider their own nominations. Whatever the truth of these allegations, it was clear from the applause that greeted the introduction of each nominee that the crowd was divided at this stage between support for Anyango and Oswango, with the balance in favour of the former. Awuori, the previous secretary, who seemed to be handling matters at this stage, called for those people who supported Anyango to raise their hands. Most hands went up. He called Oswango's name. Again, most hands went up. Awuori claimed that a lot of people must have voted twice and that this was not permissible. The voters shouted, "Shame. You should count the exact number". He replied, "That is not the system". They retorted, "Don't speak English".

Awuori then suggested setting Anyango and Oswango apart and letting their respective followers go to them. He called Anyango's name, and a large body of people went over to where Anyango had moved, bringing a hesitant stream of persons in their wake. Oswango was left with an obviously smaller number of supporters who whistled and booed and claimed that "the illiterates" had moved over to Anyango because they were confused and had just followed those who had moved first.

Meanwhile the votes were counted: Anyango had 195 and Oswango had 105. The same system was employed for Odiwuor and Adero, and again there was a mass movement of people, so that Odiwuor received 175 votes and Adero none. Amidst much grumbling, complaining, and even some threats at private re-election, Anyango was declared chairman and Odiwuor vice-chairman.

The Ker intervened and said, "Piny ok ong'e" (the location is not to be reckoned), a ~~symbolic~~ plea for tolerance, and urged people not to base their voting and acceptance of leaders on their membership of locations, but to co-operate with each other in choosing the most suitable person

for the job. There were further claims from the crowd that "it was all arranged", and Ker was accused of being in league with the organisers and of "consuming our money", but the declaration of the two new officers was eventually generally accepted.

Nominees for the post of Secretary (Jagoro), and Assistant Secretary (Jalup Jagoro) in order of nomination:

1) Owiti (Ugenya)
2) Owala (Alego but living in Kisumo)
3) Ajuoga (Karachuonyo)

1) OWITI is a "medical dresser" at Mulago hospital. He is only 28 but has been in Kampala since 1954. He is referred to as a "doctor" since he is well known by Luo for his "private" work of giving people injections and tablets for the relief of ailments. He is popular with members of his own location for his sociability and eagerness to help any of them with his medical knowledge and appliances, often free of charge. He is an active man with nine years of education and a good speaking knowledge of English. He is married with two children.

2) OWALA is now an invoice clerk, of 32 years of age, in the city council He came to Kampala in 1949 and in 1950 got a job as a cashier at the Speke Hotel. In 1957 he acquired a Peugeot car. The other members of the hotel staff suspected him of having stolen some money so, it is said, he quickly sold his car and banked the money. He was discharg however, because it was decided to employ a European as a cashier.

He then got his present job and, instead of a car, acquired a bicycle. On acquiring this job, "he became a simple man and started to wear simple clothes". He also began attending Luo Union meetings, but did not mix with members of the executive committee and was not very active in the Union.

Recently, in 1961/2, when people were suspecting him of "aloofness" and self-importance, he changed his manner and began to participate fully in the Union. He has always managed to be sociable with people on an individual basis, but kept apart from Luo Union meetings and activities, and persons directly connected with them.

He has a flair for gathering small informal groups of people around him and talking politics or current affairs. He is married with three children and lives in a 36/- house at Naguru estate. He has carried his effect of humble station to the extent of leaving his Kampala house empty, having sent nearly all his furniture home to Kenya. He has only inexpensive chairs in his Naguru house now, whereas formerly he had a big sofa. He used to wear a beard "to look political", but has since dispensed with it. He doesn't tell people how much money he has, but it is thought that he must have a healthy bank account. If this is so, he keeps it quiet, for fear that"people will run after him and kill him".

3) AJUOGA is 36 and works as a copy-typist in the Department of Education in Parliament Buildings. He has seven years of education and is fairly fluent in English. He has been in Kampala twelve years. He has two children by his first wife who died in 1959. He has remarried. He regularly attends all Luo meetings, including those of his location association.

After these nominations, the same procedure of calling a name and having people vote for it, this time by the raising of hands, was continued. And again, the first called, Owiti of Ugenya, and the second, Owala of Alego, were elected secretary and assistant secretary respectively, recording 176 and 165 votes. These two are of the majority Western locations, whereas Ajuoga, who was last called and recorded 95 votes, is of a Southern location. Large numbers of Southerners and some sympathetic Easterners again complained that the election was being rigged and many left the meeting in dissatisfaction.

Nominees for the post of Treasurer (Jakeno) and Assistant Treasurer (Jalup Jakeno) in order of nomination:

1) Okech (Seme)
2) Julia Anyaso - a woman (Ugenya)
3) P. Otieno (Ugenya)
4) Sigu (Kisumo)

1) OKECH is the acting secretary referred to in the beginning of this account of the Union election. He is a trader, owning a shop at Nakawa, and delivering some of his goods by scooter. He seems to be doing well and is able to afford 120/- a month for his excellent shop plot. He had only had his shop at Nakawa for three months at the time of the elections, having lived and traded at Nyamwongo before. He established his shop from capital realised through savings from a former job as a clerk.

He is regarded as "polite" and "humble" and "talkative", and is recognised for his active support of the Union. (He is chairman of Seme location and official of the "breakaway" Kanu branch). During the previous secretary's municipal council campaign (Awuor, see above), he became acting secretary and appeared to do the job well. He is 34 and has been in Kampala ten years. He lives with his wife and three children in the back room of his shop at Nakawa. He speaks good Englis

2) ANYASO is the 30 year old wife of a Luo machine operator working in Kampala who, though now fat and forty, was a celebrated Union and location soccer player. They have no childrem. Anyaso herself has eight years of education which is two more than her husband. Her mother had married a second time and had come to Kampala with her husban Anyaso used to visit her in the town and eventually met her own husband there. While in Kampala she had become interested in teaching children and came to do this under the auspices of the Union. She began to attend Luo meetings, voiced her opinions occasionally, and tried to persuade women to participate in its activities, especially that of teaching in one of the Luo schools in Kampala.

3) OTIENO is particularly noted for his productive efforts at strengthening his clan and location associations and participating fully in the Union's activities. He is a typist and has held the same job since coming to Kampala over seven years ago. He wears "superior clothes, including suits", is only 28, and lives at Nyamwongo with his wife and two children.

4) SIGU is a clerk and has been in Kampala over six years. He was accepted by the city council as soccer referee and has worked hard as such for the Luo Union's inter-location competition. It was on this basis that his name wass nominated, though he did not otherwise seem to be a popular choice. He is 32, married with 5 children, and lives at Naguru in a 39/- house.

The only reaction to the nominations themselves was the apparent outright rejection of a woman as treasurer. It was pointed out that the previous treasurer was also a woman, the wife of the departing chairman, who had not done her job well. This woman treasurer was at the meeting and spoke to defend herself. She apologised to all concerned if they had felt that she had been a bad treasurer. She pointed out, however, that she had been elected to her position and had done her best. She knew, she said, that those who complained about her were the people who had not wished to subscribe funds and who had made it their business to dissuade others from likewise c contributing. To act like this was to act as though the Luo were not a tribe, and it made her feel she herself was not a Luo. She assured whoever might succeed her that he need have no fear, since he will have been elected to his position, and, provided he does his best, will, like her, be guilty of nothing.

Okech's name was called first. The claim that those whose names are called first get the most votes, appeared disproved here since he was awarded only 105. He was, however, from a minority Western tribe, whereas Otieno, who was called third, and who was awarded 176, the highest number of votes, was of Ugenya, one of the majority Western tribes. The woman Ayaso recorded only four votes, during which banter was exchanged to the effect that to give a woman the post of treasurer was to tempt someone into carrying her and the Union's money off and "marrying them both". It was also stated as shameful to have to take a woman to court if she embezzled the funds, whereas a man would have topay up or be jailed. Sigu received no votes since, by this time, the Kisumo and other Eastern location members had refused to raise their hands to vote, in protest against

the alleged rigging of the elections. Sigu had even been told by them not to bother to stand.

The Westerners were clearly very satisfied at the results of the election, and they left the area blowing their abu, while their women gave out a high-pitched, tongue-flapping form of ululation known as sigalagala, and moved off in a shuffling dance.

The Easterners and the few Southerners who had remained were disgruntled, and continued in their complaints. Many of them wanted to know why buses had not been provided to take them home. The outgoing committee was blamed for not being able to organise a collection of money for this purpose. They said it was no wonder that the location associations had looked after their own interests, since no one could have faith in the Union.

The outgoing secretary, Awuor, retaliated by stating that 1500/- had been sent to the headquarters at Kisumu, that this represented the money collected from 1961 to the present time, and that there were still 231/- left in the Kampala Union's funds. Invitations were then extended for membership for 5/-, to which some people retorted, "Let the Westerners pay and become members. Let us continue to strengthen our location associations". Another shabbily dressed man, whose location had not succeeded, said, "I don't dress well, but I can fight anytime because these are good clothes for fighting (i.e. rags). Nor am I being fed by you. If I am dismissed from work, I shall just go home". He then left not having had much effect on the crowd. An "educated clerk" said, "The Luo Union should be dead. I earn a lot of money and spend it well and as I please. People should know what the Union had done with its money. I shall not be a member". This man, too, was virtually ignored. People felt their feelings had been expressed too strongly and amounted to little more than abuse.

At about this time, anyway, Ker was called upon to be greeted by his people with money. He placed his kofia (beaded cap) on the table in front of him so that anyone who came up to greet him might put money in it. The money was to go to Kisumu, capital town of Luoland. Ker, who was regarded as occupying the seat in the Union that Oginga Odinga once had, closed the meeting.

The proceedings may be summarised thus.

As a reaction to apparent inactivity and lethargy by the Union, many Kampala Luo called for a change of chairman, The protests appeared instigated, in fact, by men from Western Luoland , who saw only Southern and Eastern Luo in office and attributed the Union's inadequacy to this. When the election itself got under way, the affiliations of location as well as area became evident.

In particular, the three Western locations of Ugenya, Gem and Alego, who are the most numerous in Kampala and were so at the meeting, acted and voted as a close-knit, almost exclusive group, to the extent that, of the eleven nominations, seven were of these three locations. Of the other four, two were Westerners, so that the transfer of power from the executive committee composed of Southerners and Easterners to one composed of Westerners was dramatic.

All officers elected were Westerners, and all but one were of the three closely interacting locations[1]. The organisers of the meeting were even accused of rigging the elections and there was so much growing feeling against the Westerners that, for the election of the final pair of officers, many non-Westerners refused to vote, so that the number of voters droppped from a previous 475 and 436 to 285.

In view of this factionalism, and of the numerical imbalance of the voting population's locations, it is difficult to assess clearly the qualities thought necessary in a leader by the electors.

However, certain general impressions may be drawn. Only four of the eleven candidates were regarded as particularly wealthy, though nine were regarded as having prestigeful occupations and were also distinguished in this respect by their dress. Eight spoke English.

Nine of the eleven candidates had been in Kampala for seven years or more, which immediately accords them urban seniority. Urban seniority may be distinguished from biological seniority, since only four of the candidates were 35 years of age or over, though most were married, a fact indicating the continuing importance of one aspect of traditional social majority.

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[1] Alego, Gem and Ugenya form an administrative "division". There are apparently four such divisions: Nyando, Bondo, Ramula and Boro.

Ten candidates were already renowned for their interest and participation in Luo Union or location activities. None of the current candidates were renowned for non-tribal association activities, though, in most years, for instance, the previous year, there are usually one or two officers who are.

Location membership particularly favoured by the voters, I have illustrated, is that of either Gem, Ugenya, or Alego.

Peripheral criteria of candidature are prestige of residence, oratory, and forcefulness of personality, as against humility and a general absence of "pride".

Thus the impressions are that a certain length of urban residence is required before a man can be expected to be nominated, since all but one of the nominees had resided in Kampala for seven years or more; that a nominee is likely to have a relatively prestigeful occupation and, to a lesser extent, is likely to have a knowledge of English; and that he will very probably have been active in the Union or his location's activities. The membership or otherwise of a "favoured location" has already been discussed in the description of the voter's factionalism.

Neither wealth, age or being renowned for "non-tribal activities" were frequently instanced as attributes of nominees. It may be noted, nevertheless, that the previous secretary had been a candidate for the Kampala municipal council but, through neglecting his work for the Union, had been condemned for his participation in "non-tribal activities". The evidence would suggest that leadership of a tribal body like the Luo Union is regarded by its members as incompatible with leadership or even just full participation in a non-tribal, civic association. At the East African-wide level, political leaders like Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga may occasionally be cited as nominal leaders or "patrons", though it is likely that even this is not encouraged by their respective political parties for fear of being accused of "entrenching tribalism". In fact, the Luo Union is not a political body in its intentions but purports to concern itself with the development and general social welfare of its people. The incompatibility of Luo tribal and non-tribal association leadership at the Kampala level is evident also in the organisation and activities of various KANU branches in the town.

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